

The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaeans and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa

Author(s): P. A. Mountjoy

Source: *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 48 (1998), pp. 33-67

Published by: [British Institute at Ankara](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3643047>

---



British Institute at Ankara is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Anatolian Studies*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaeans and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa

P. A. Mountjoy

British School at Athens

The Mycenaean culture of the east Aegean islands should not be considered in relation to that of the Greek Mainland, as has generally been done up until now, but rather in terms of the East Aegean — West Anatolian Interface (fig 1), an area which forms an entity between the Mycenaean islands of the central Aegean and the Anatolian hinterland with Troy at its northern extremity and Rhodes at its southern one.

## The Interface LB I-II

During LB I-II there was much Minoan influence in the Lower Interface, as evidenced, for example, by finds at Miletos<sup>1</sup>, Teichiussa<sup>2</sup>, Iasos<sup>3</sup>, Knidos<sup>4</sup>, the Vathy Cave on Kalymnos<sup>5</sup>, Kastro and Heraion on Samos<sup>6</sup>, Seraglio on Kos<sup>7</sup>, a site just south of Megalo Chorio on Tilos<sup>8</sup> and Trianda on Rhodes<sup>9</sup>. Indeed, actual Minoan colonies at some of these places have been suggested based on the presence of certain criteria<sup>10</sup>. These include Minoan

architectural features, evidence of Minoan religious ritual, locally made Minoan pottery and the use of the Linear A script. Frescoes, fine and domestic pottery, masonry and a cult-offering table, all of Minoan type, found together with Linear A at Miletos have suggested that there was a Minoan colony at that site<sup>11</sup>. The first three items have also been found at Trianda suggesting a Minoan colony here too<sup>12</sup>. However, Minoan features do not necessarily imply Minoan settlers. C. Doumas has convincingly demonstrated that in the Cyclades at Ay.Irini on Kea and Phylakopi on Melos the Minoan element is an intrusive one and that this is even the case at Akrotiri on Thera, which has all the criteria for a Minoan colony listed above<sup>13</sup>. At Miletos only a small LB I-II area has been excavated so far; further excavation will perhaps clarify if it was really a Minoan colony or not. Even at Trianda, the presence of a Minoan colony is open to question<sup>14</sup>. Although the possibility of Minoan colonies cannot be ruled out, it is equally likely that the local inhabitants of the Lower Interface had undergone Minoan acculturation and were part of a Minoan trading area. The fact that local pottery continued to be produced at these places supports this idea. Indeed, Seraglio seems to have been exporting some commodity in its distinctive locally produced LOD and DOL vases not only to the Anatolian coast, Rhodes and Samos but also further afield to Akrotiri on Thera and Ay.Irini on Kea<sup>15</sup>.

In the Upper Interface there is no Minoan influence. No LM I pottery has been found so far at Troy or

<sup>1</sup> W.-D. Niemeier, 'The Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia' *Dothan Festschrift*, 27-28. For a parallel publication of the recent excavations at Miletos see also W.-D. Niemeier, *AA* (1997), not available to me in Athens at the time of writing this study.

<sup>2</sup> W. Voigtländer, *AA* (1986), 613-67 especially 622-3, *Ibid* (1988), 567-625 especially 605.

<sup>3</sup> C. Laviosa, 'Les fouilles de Iasos', in *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Classical Archaeology Ankara-Izmir 23-30.9.73*, Ankara, 1978, 1093-99.

<sup>4</sup> M. Mellink, *AJA* 82 (1978), 321,324.

<sup>5</sup> M. Benzi, 'The Late Bronze Age pottery from the Vathy Cave, Kalymnos', in C. Zerner et al (eds) *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age 1939-89*, Amsterdam, 1993, 275-88.

<sup>6</sup> Kastro: R. Heidenreich, *AthMit* 60-61 (1935-36), 165-69 pl 49a, W. Buttler, *Ibid*, 190-96 pl 68; Heraion: H. Walter, *Ibid* 72 (1957), 36-37.

<sup>7</sup> L. Morricone, *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 296-337.

<sup>8</sup> A. Sampson, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 13 (1980), 68-73.

<sup>9</sup> See *Rhodes*, 4-7 with references and E. Papazoglou, *AD* 37A (1982), 139-87.

<sup>10</sup> See R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds), *The Minoan Thalassocracy, Myth and Reality*, Stockholm, 1984, for references and K. Branigan, *BSA* 76 (1981), 23-33 for the different types of colony.

<sup>11</sup> W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> A. Furumark, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 (1950), 180.

<sup>13</sup> C. Doumas, *AA* (1982), 8-9.

<sup>14</sup> See T. Marketou 'New evidence on the topography and site history of prehistoric Ialysos', in S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds) *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen, 1988, 27-33 for a synopsis of recent excavations at Trianda and, especially, 28 'The colonial character of Trianda is still questionable'.

<sup>15</sup> M. Marthari, T. Marketou and R. E. Jones, 'LB I ceramic connections between Thera and Kos', in D. Hardy et al (eds) *Thera and the Aegean World III.1*, London, 1990, 171-84 with references.

published from elsewhere in the area, but there are Minoan roundels from Mikro Vouni on Samothraki<sup>16</sup>. It is surprising that no LM I pottery has turned up at Troy, even though it is so far north, since it seems likely it was a commercial centre for the north-east Aegean<sup>17</sup>. Although nowadays Troy lies inland, recent research has shown that in the Late Bronze Age the sea came much closer to it, slowly retreating as the Scamander silted up<sup>18</sup>; by Late Troy VI-VII it was probably 1-2km away, the citadel being surrounded by swamp crossed by many small deltaic rivers<sup>19</sup>; in the summer the marsh would have dried out. Apart from a possible harbour close to Troy, the harbour at Beşik must have been much used by boats waiting for a favourable wind to get through the Dardanelles, since the north winds could delay boats for several days<sup>20</sup>. The two good harbours on Tenedos might also have been used, but were perhaps not as convenient as this island lies further south. The current excavations at Troy have shown that it was a larger settlement than previously thought with a Lower Town extending half a kilometre across the plain to the Cemetery on the edge of it; the Lower Town was settled from Early Troy VI and had a defensive ditch round it at least from Late Troy VI, if not earlier<sup>21</sup>. Mycenaean pottery dating from LH IIA onwards has been found in the Lower Town. This large settlement lying in such a key position must have played a commanding role in maritime trade to and from the Black Sea. In LM II/IIIA1 Minoan artefacts do appear at Troy; they consist of large storage stirrup jars, either Minoan imports or local copies<sup>22</sup>. They were found with late LH IIB pottery making up part of the floor deposit associated with the cleaning up and remodelling of House VIF<sup>23</sup>.

Although there was much Minoan influence in LB I-II in the Lower Interface, the pottery indicates that some parts of both the Lower and the Upper Interface also absorbed Mycenaean influence from an early stage. Clay analysis has suggested that Mycenaean pottery was already produced locally at Miletos in LH IIA (together

with LM I pottery)<sup>24</sup>; if this was indeed the case, it reinforces the suggestion that Miletos was part of a Minoan trading area rather than a Minoan colony. At Troy, too, the Mycenaean pottery may have been locally produced; a few LH IIA sherds have been found<sup>25</sup> and a visual scrutiny of these and the subsequent LH IIB-IIIC Mycenaean pottery suggests much of it is made of the local clay<sup>26</sup>. LH IIA pottery has also been found in the cist tomb cemetery at Archontiki on Psara<sup>27</sup>. During LM II/LH IIB the Minoan presence in the Lower Interface, whatever form it took, gradually disappeared and the Mycenaean culture slowly took over. On Rhodes and Kos, for example, chamber tomb cemeteries, the Mycenaean mode of burial, were founded in LH IIB at Ialysos, the cemetery for Trianda, and at Eleona-Langada, the cemetery for Seraglio.

### The Interface LH IIIA-IIIB (Fig 1)

On the east Aegean islands the first datable Mycenaean pottery from Lesbos and Kalymnos (in both cases domestic material) is LH IIIA1<sup>28</sup>, on Astypalaia (from chamber tombs) and on Lemnos (from surface sherding at the settlement of Koukonesi) LH IIIA2<sup>29</sup> and on Chios (from the settlement and a cist grave at Emporio) LH IIIB<sup>30</sup>. The absence of earlier Mycenaean pottery on these islands is probably due to incomplete investigation rather than actual absence, particularly since LH IIA pottery has been found in the cist tomb cemetery on the islet of Psara adjacent to Chios. On Rhodes and Kos Mycenaeanisation increased in LH IIIA1 and was widely spread in LH IIIA2, especially on Rhodes where a large

<sup>16</sup> D. Matsas, *Studia Troica* 1 (1991), 159-79, D. Matsas, *Aegaeum* 12, 235-48.

<sup>17</sup> M. Korfmann, 'Troia: a residential and trading city at the Dardanelles', in R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds) *Aegaeum 12 Politeia*, Liege, 1995, 173-83.

<sup>18</sup> I. Kayan, *Studia Troica* 5 (1995), 214-17, especially 221 fig 8.

<sup>19</sup> I. Kayan Pers.comm.

<sup>20</sup> M. Korfmann, 'Troy: topography and navigation' in M. Mellink (ed) *Troy and the Trojan War*, Bryn Mawr, 1986, 1-16.

<sup>21</sup> P. Jablonka, *Studia Troica* 5 (1995), 39-79, *Ibid* 6 (1996), 65-96.

<sup>22</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 283-85 and fig 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 277-91.

<sup>24</sup> K. Gödeken, 'A contribution to the early history of Miletus. The settlement in Mycenaean times and its connections overseas', in E. B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds) *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, Bristol, 1986, 307-18, fig 19e LH IIA, fig 19d LM I. Unfortunately, the statistics on which these results are based have never been published.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 260 fig 1.1 top left and second from left, 276.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 259-67.

<sup>27</sup> L.. Ahilara, report in *E Kathimerine Epta Emeres Kyriake* 27.8.95.

<sup>28</sup> Lesbos: W. Lamb, *Thermi*, Cambridge, 1936, fig 42, Kalymnos: M Benzi, 'The Late Bronze Age pottery from the Vathy Cave, Kalymnos', in C. Zerner et al (eds) *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age 1939-89*, Amsterdam, 1993, 281.

<sup>29</sup> Astypalaia: E. Zervoudaki, *AD* 26B (1971) 550-51, C. Doumas, *AD* 30B (1975) pl 272; Lemnos: A. Archontidou, *Archaiologia* 50 (1994) 52 fig 7. I thank C. Boulotis for showing me photographs of his sherds from Koukonesi.

<sup>30</sup> Chios, Area D 147-50, Area F 161-64, Area E cist grave 152-53.

number of burial sites can be dated to this phase<sup>31</sup>; unfortunately, the corresponding settlement sites have not been located<sup>32</sup>. Burials at Ialysos are relatively wealthy with some gold and silver and include Warrior Burials<sup>33</sup>. There are also two possible Cypriot burials, one of which was a child, suggesting perhaps the presence of a small enclave of Cypriot merchants<sup>34</sup>. Cypriot pottery and bronze weapons have also been found in other graves and in the settlement at Trianda with LM I pottery<sup>35</sup>. In LH IIIB there are fewer burials at Ialysos but, as Benzi points out<sup>36</sup>, there are still wealthy tombs and the level of prosperity does not seem to have changed. The number of burials in cemeteries on the rest of the island remains unchanged, but less pottery is put with them, as is also the case on the Greek Mainland<sup>37</sup>. The second and third cities at Seraglio on Kos date to these phases, the second city possibly lasting until LH IIIA2, while the third city was destroyed some time in LH IIIB<sup>38</sup>. The LH IIIA and LH IIIB graves in the Eleona-Langada cemetery are poorer than those at Ialysos. In contrast to Ialysos Eleona-Langada has more LH IIIB graves than LH IIIA2 ones; the latter are so surprisingly few it is possible that the inhabitants of Seraglio were buried elsewhere in this phase, either in a different cemetery or in another part of the Eleona-Langada cemetery not yet uncovered<sup>39</sup>; the LH IIIB burials include two Warrior Graves, one with a Naue II sword<sup>40</sup>.

On the Anatolian coast the sites with the strongest Mycenaean contacts so far known are Troy<sup>41</sup>, Menemen-Panaztepe<sup>42</sup>, Klazomenae-Limantepe<sup>43</sup>, Ephesos<sup>44</sup>, Miletos with its cemetery at Değirmentepe<sup>45</sup>, Iasos<sup>46</sup> and Müsgebi<sup>47</sup>. At Troy Phase VIg dates to LH IIIA1, but only one good stratified deposit is preserved<sup>48</sup>; there is not much Mycenaean pottery of this Phase extant. In contrast there is much LH IIIA2 pottery from the Troy Phase VIh destruction levels. Although it is present only in small amounts compared to the local Grey Ware, there are, nevertheless, nearly 900 sherds. The destruction should date to this phase, the very few LH IIIB sherds (about 20) most probably being Phase VIIa intrusions which slipped down when huge pithoi were sunk 1-2m below the floors of the Phase VIIa houses into the Troy VIh levels<sup>49</sup>. After the earthquake which destroyed Troy VIh immediate rebuilding took place. The subsequent settlement, Troy VIIa, dates to LH IIIB; it was destroyed by fire, probably late in the phase<sup>50</sup>. The LH IIIB pottery is now Ginger Ware<sup>51</sup>.

The recent excavations at Klazomenae-Limantepe and Menemen-Panaztepe await publication, but a tomb group from the latter site, acquired by Manisa Museum from an antiquities' dealer, provides a good illustration of the hybrid nature of the Interface<sup>52</sup>. The group belongs to two chronological phases. The material of the earlier phase includes a bronze cruciform sword Type Di for which a Knossian workshop is suggested<sup>53</sup>, six LH IIIA2 Mycenaean pots, a juglet and flask of Anatolian type and two Grey Ware kraters with Trojan parallels. The later group is dated to late LH IIIB-LH IIIC Early. It includes a bronze spear, one-edged knife and razor of which the first two have European features, the knife being a Siana

<sup>31</sup> Rhodes, 83-86, P. A. Mountjoy, *PoDIA* 1 (1995), 33.

<sup>32</sup> For a survey of Mycenaean sites in the Dodecanese see R. Hope Simpson, *BSA* 57 (1962), 154-75, R. Hope Simpson and J. Lazenby, *Ibid* 65 (1970), 47-78, 68 (1973), 127-79.

<sup>33</sup> Rodi, 211 Ts.4,45,74.

<sup>34</sup> Rhodes, 22.

<sup>35</sup> P. Aström, 'Relations between Cyprus and the Dodecanese in the Bronze Age', in S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds) *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen, 1988, 76-79, Rodi, 173.

<sup>36</sup> Rodi, 216.

<sup>37</sup> E. French, *BSA* 64 (1969), 71.

<sup>38</sup> L. Morricone, *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 388-96. See *RMDP* Chapter 11 Kos for the suggestion that the LH IIIA2 vase found on a third city floor which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the second city is a much earlier vase. The loss of the excavation notebooks in World War II has left most of the pottery without context.

<sup>39</sup> Mee lists 17 tombs in use in LH IIIA2, Rhodes, 87, but I would prefer to date the LH IIIA pottery in Eleona T.17 (no 367) and T.21 (nos 388-90) to LH IIIA1 and that in Eleona T.15 (no 353) to LHIIIB; this leaves 14 tombs in use. Not enough is known about the stratigraphy at Seraglio to determine whether the lack of LH IIIA2 burials was the result of a gap in settlement.

<sup>40</sup> L. Morricone, *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 212-17 T.21 137-40, T.46.

<sup>41</sup> C. Blegen et al, *Troy III*, 177-396, *Troy IV*, 3-243.

<sup>42</sup> Most recently M.-H. Gates, *AJA* 98 (1994), 259, 99 (1995), 222-23, 100 (1996), 303-04 and A. Erkanal, *KST* XIV.1 (1993), 495-502, XV.1 (1994), 461-66, XVI.1 (1995), 281-85, Y. Ersoy, *BSA* 83 (1988), 55-82.

<sup>43</sup> M. Mellink, *AJA* 88 (1984), 450-51, M.-H. Gates, *Ibid* 98 (1994), 258, 99 (1995), 122, 100 (1996), 303.

<sup>44</sup> H. Gültekin and M. Baran, *TAD* 13/2 (1964), 122-23, A. Bammer, *AnSt* 40 (1990), 141-42 pl 5a,c-d.

<sup>45</sup> W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 30-37.

<sup>46</sup> M. Benzi, *Bollettino d'Arte Supplemento to 31-32* (1985), 30-32 with references.

<sup>47</sup> Boysal, *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 275-94.

<sup>49</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 9 (1999), forthcoming, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 42, 228-30.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>51</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 262.

<sup>52</sup> Y. Ersoy, *BSA* 83 (1988), 55-82.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 67.

subtype found in the Dodecanese and Anatolia; a local workshop is suggested for these bronzes<sup>54</sup>. There are also three local Anatolian vases.

The LH IIIA2 pottery from Ephesos from the disturbed tomb on the Byzantine citadel at Ayasoluk is also a typical Interface mixture. It includes a Mycenaean rhyton and flask of standard type, a second flask with a non-Aegean shape but with Mycenaean decoration and a krater and piriform jar with Minoan characteristics. The krater is decorated with argonauts with triangular filling motifs in a Minoan or east Aegean fashion while the piriform jar has a Minoan syntax and spirals of Minoan type with a thickened outer coil not found on the Mainland in this phase. Both vases are probably local imitations<sup>55</sup>. The recent trial trenches below the Artemision have produced some LH IIIB-IIIC sherds and animal figurines of Mycenaean and Anatolian type, as well as the head of a terracotta figure<sup>56</sup>.

At Miletos the second building period has LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 pottery, but little has yet been published<sup>57</sup>. The architecture is probably Anatolian, but Mycenaean parallels have also been suggested<sup>58</sup>. Seven kilns of two types have been found, the first an Anatolian type, although Mycenaean parallels have been put forward, and the second a Minoan version with parallel flues<sup>59</sup>. There was a burnt destruction at the end of LH IIIA2 after which the settlement was rebuilt and at some point in LH IIIB a fortification wall was constructed. There is no undisturbed evidence for LH IIIB yet. Sherds from two locally made pithoi with incised signs which might be Linear B have no exact Linear B parallels; indeed, one might be Hittite and one a local Milesian variant<sup>60</sup>. The presence of a phi figurine in the LH IIIA building phase and a psi figurine in the LH IIIB one cannot be taken by themselves to indicate Mycenaean ritual as claimed<sup>61</sup>. At Iasos the third level has LH IIB-IIIC pottery from widely separated soundings suggesting a large settlement; Benzi notes that some of the Mycenaean pottery is locally made<sup>62</sup>. The stratigraphy is not good and the pottery can only be dated stylistically. The chamber tomb cemetery at Müsgebi seems to have been founded in LH IIIA1,

since six tombs contain LH IIIA1 vessels<sup>63</sup>. LH IIIA2 was the peak phase of this cemetery with many tombs in use in contrast to LH IIIB when there was a marked decline in the number of burials. The burials included inhumations together with cremations. Bronze weapons were also found, but are unpublished<sup>64</sup>. Mee suggests strong Rhodian ties as there is a preference for the same vase shapes and two local Rhodian shapes, the basket vase (one example of which is locally made) and four braziers, are present<sup>65</sup>. There is, however, little LH IIIA2 pottery published from the settlement at Miletos and at Seraglio for comparison and very few LH IIIA2 burials have been uncovered in the Eleona-Langada cemetery. Further LH IIIA2 pottery from Miletos and Kos might change the impression of an exclusively Rhodian relationship. Mee further suggests that Mycenaeans were settled at Müsgebi. However, the site is not a coastal one such as would attract Mycenaean traders/settlers. Moreover, the pottery seems to be locally made or imported from Miletos right from the beginning. Three LH IIIA1 cups (nos 706-08) with stipple decoration are made of the reddish clay which is probably local and the LH IIIA1 goblet from T.35 has been analysed and assigned to Miletos Workshop II<sup>66</sup>. Other LH IIIA2-IIIB vessels analysed are also assigned to a Milesian provenance<sup>67</sup>. I suspect all the pottery with clay described as reddish and 'ziegelrot' is either local or that the better pieces were perhaps imported from Miletos, not Rhodes, as Mee suggests. The site is next door to Kos and much closer to Miletos than Rhodes, so that one would expect the ties to lie here. Since very few tombs at Müsgebi were in use in LH IIIB, Mee compares this situation to the similar one at Ialysos<sup>68</sup> in support of the theory that the links with Rhodes were not merely the result of trade, but we need to know about the situation at neighbouring sites on the Anatolian coast to confirm this idea. If the Müsgebi vessels did come from Rhodes, then a south Rhodian origin should be sought, since the clay at Ialysos is buff with silver mica whereas that from south Rhodes is reddish. However, the Müsgebi vessels are not decorated in the style of the south Rhodian workshops.

It has been suggested that the spread of the Mycenaean culture in the east Aegean, particularly on

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 67-69.

<sup>55</sup> H. Gültekin and M. Baran, *TAD* 13/2 (1964), 122-23.

<sup>56</sup> A. Bammer, *AnSt* 40 (1990), 146 fig 12, A. Bammer, *JOAI* 63 (1994), Beiblatt 28-39.

<sup>57</sup> See W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 30-34 for the most recent synopsis.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 30-31.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 31-32.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 33-36.

<sup>62</sup> M. Benzi, *Bollettino d'Arte Supplement to 31-32* (1985), 29-34.

<sup>63</sup> Boysal, T.2 nos 706,707, T.18, T.22 nos 635,636,708, T.34 no 992, T.35 no 991, T.39 no 2320.

<sup>64</sup> C. Mee, *AnSt* 28 (1978), 137.

<sup>65</sup> *Rhodes*, 78,89.

<sup>66</sup> K. Gödecken, in E. B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds) *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, Bristol, 1986, 312.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 312.

<sup>68</sup> *Rhodes*, 89.

Rhodes, was due to colonists from the Greek Mainland<sup>69</sup>, but I would prefer to see it as an increase in acculturation, not only on Rhodes but on all the east Aegean islands. An observation by O. Dickinson made in respect of the spread of the Mycenaean culture in Thessaly can also be applied to the east Aegean. He suggests that in Thessaly the spread of Mycenaean pottery and tomb practices does not represent immigrant Mycenaeans, but the adoption of a new fine ware and new burial practices just as in southern Greece<sup>70</sup>. In the same way it seems to me that the local inhabitants of the east Aegean became absorbed into the Mycenaean culture adopting Mycenaean burial customs and pottery to produce a hybrid culture of their own. This is well illustrated by the mixture of burial customs. Chamber tombs were in use in the southern Interface at Miletos (Değirmentepe) and Müsgebi, the latter with cremations as well as inhumations, and on Rhodes and Kos (with cremations together with inhumations in LH IIIC), but in the northern Interface cist tombs are found at Archontiki, cremation urns at Troy and pithos burials at Beşiktepe and in the central Interface a mixture of chambers, pithoi and small tholoi with cremations and inhumations at Menemen-Panaztepe. A hybrid culture is also indicated by burial offerings in the chamber tombs; for instance, there are four swords in the chamber tombs at Değirmentepe of which one is Aegean and the other three of Anatolian/Hittite type<sup>71</sup>, while the east Aegean Siana type knife is found throughout the Interface being present on Rhodes and Astypalaia and at Colophon, Menemen, Troy and Beşiktepe<sup>72</sup>; with regard to pottery the tombs at Değirmentepe, Müsgebi and at the two sites on Astypalaia, Synkairos and Armenochori, contain many open shapes as well as closed ones, whereas in the tombs on Rhodes and Kos closed shapes are in the majority, as is also usual on the Greek Mainland. Moreover, in an analysis of chamber tomb burials in the Dodecanese S Voutsaki has noted subtle differences from Argive burials which should have a cultural significance. She notes differences in the disposal of the body and the ritual involved, in the use of symbolic objects and in the ordering of space in the tomb and suggests that these differences indicate not settlers but Mycenaean practices adopted by the local inhabitants<sup>73</sup>. It could be that the southern Interface absorbed

the Mycenaean culture more easily since it had already been exposed to much Minoan influence. Local Anatolian pottery continued to be made throughout the Interface, except, perhaps, on Rhodes and Kos; for example, on Lemnos, Lesbos and Chios and at Troy, Menemen, Klazomenae, Miletos and Iasos, the Mycenaean wares formed part of an assemblage together with local Anatolian wares in varying ratios at the different sites. This may have been true of other sites on and close to the coast, but evidence is needed for the area between Menemen and Troy and more information from the islands of the Lower Interface, particularly Astypalaia and Kalymnos. Clay analysis has suggested that Miletos exported pottery to Müsgebi<sup>74</sup>. It may well also have exported to other coastal sites and perhaps to the east Aegean islands, but the similarity of the clay of Kos, Kalymnos, Astypalaia and Miletos makes it difficult to assign the pottery to one site or another. Indeed, it seems most likely that each Mycenaean site produced its own fine wares.

The clay of the Lower Interface varies in colour from purple-pink to orange to buff according to firing. The slip may be white, cream, or sometimes yellow; the paint is orange, orange-brown or brown. The most distinctive aspect of this clay is the presence of gold mica; there may also be silver mica. This is particularly apparent in the case of the larger vases, where the clay is less finely levigated, but hard to see on small vases. In contrast the clay at Ialysos is generally buff with black to brown paint and has much small silver mica, but no gold. Pottery from south Rhodes may be similar or have a very deep buff or reddish clay, sometimes with a yellow slip. At Troy the clay varies from ginger-buff to salmon coloured and also has gold and silver mica. I have not handled pottery from sites between Troy and Miletos, but the orange clay of the vases from Menemen, published as Argive imports, suggests a local provenance<sup>75</sup>.

### The Pottery (Fig 1)

The cultural connections of the Interface are particularly well illustrated by the pottery. From LH IIIA2 onwards the Mycenaean pottery from the Interface exhibits local east Aegean forms and decorative motifs, which are not found on the Greek Mainland and which are the result of a mixture of Mycenaean, Anatolian and Minoan influence. The islands from which enough pottery has been published to be informative are Chios, Astypalaia, Kalymnos, Kos, Rhodes and Karpathos. However, most

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 304.

<sup>70</sup> O. T. P. K. Dickinson, *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilisation* SIMA 49, Gothenburg, 1977, 100.

<sup>71</sup> W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 39.

<sup>72</sup> See Y. Ersoy, *BSA* 83 (1988), 67 with references.

<sup>73</sup> S. Voutsaki, *Society and Culture in the Mycenaean World: an analysis of mortuary practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese*. Unpublished Cambridge PhD Thesis, 1993, 133.

<sup>74</sup> K. Gödecken, in E. B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds) *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, Bristol, 1986, 311-12.

<sup>75</sup> Y. Ersoy, *BSA* 83 (1988), 55-82.

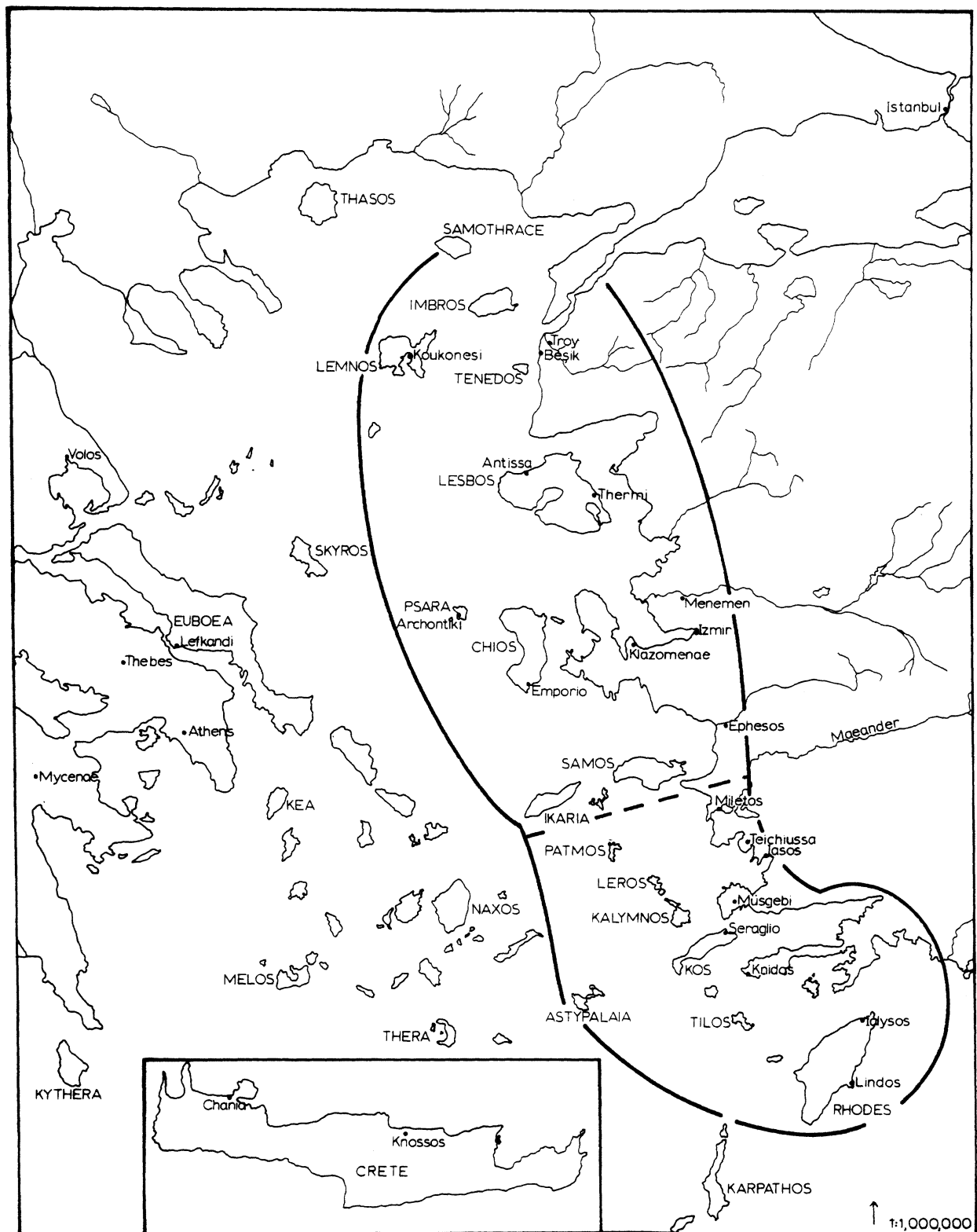


Fig 1. The Interface: LH IIIA2-IIIB. Upper and Central Interface: largely Anatolian wares; Lower Interface: higher proportion of Mycenaean pottery

of the extant pottery from Karpathos belongs to the Late Minoan IIIA1-III A2 phases<sup>76</sup>; in these phases the island seems not to have been part of the Mycenaean culture. From sites on the Anatolian coast a fair amount is published from Troy, Miletos and Müsgebi, but the pottery from Menemen, Klazomenae and Iasos awaits full publication, giving rise to a lacuna in the Central Interface (Menemen, Klazomenae), as far as pottery discussion is concerned.

In LH IIIA2 South Rhodes had its own regional style combining Minoan and Anatolian traits, which was produced in one or more workshops (fig 2) and which was exported and imitated on other islands<sup>77</sup>, such as Kos<sup>78</sup>. Framed bands of net (fig 2.1, 3), a Minoan motif found from LM IIIA1, and net triangles (fig 2) are a feature of these south Rhodian workshops. Basket vases (fig 2.4) with south Rhodian decoration are in LH IIIA2 contexts at Ialysos, enabling the similar south Rhodian vases which are without context to be dated. Anatolian connections are shown by the carinated krater (fig 2.1), Furumark's FS 287, which is a variant of an Anatolian shape found at Troy in Grey and Tan Ware, Blegen's Shape C82<sup>79</sup>, but the Rhodian vase has three handles, each made up of three rolls of clay, instead of the two plain ones of the Trojan shape, and a ring base instead of a pedestal base. Two kraters with LH IIIA2 pottery from a chamber tomb at Synkairos on Astypalaia have the same shape with three handles, but no midrib at the carination and a pedestal base. They are even closer to the Anatolian examples<sup>80</sup>. The triple rolled handles and midrib of the Rhodian krater are similar to the triple rolled legs and midrib of the basket vases. The prototype for the basket vases is unknown; it is possible they, too, have an Anatolian origin and that, like the krater, they are a blending of Mycenaean and Anatolian forms, but so far there is only one Anatolian example published, from the chamber tomb cemetery at Müsgebi<sup>81</sup>; other examples are needed from Anatolia to support this suggestion. The south Rhodian stand (fig 2.2) with net triangles is also a variation of an Anatolian shape, as demonstrated by a cylindrical Tan Ware stand with incised decoration from Troy of this date or later, which has the same midrib and

similar use of fenestration, although the cut-outs are a different shape<sup>82</sup>.

Another Anatolian shape, the flask, is found on Kos (fig 3.1) and Rhodes. Unlike Mycenaean flasks it has a tall neck with a handle from the neck to the centre of the body and a prominent ridge round the body. At Troy (fig 3.2) this shape is often decorated with spirals, as is the Koan vase. The framed band of net on the Koan vase belongs to the south Rhodian repertoire, but its clay suggests the vase is a local Koan product.

Yet another Anatolian shape dating to LH IIIA2, Furumark's FS 297, is a large carinated bowl with basket handles on the rim (fig 4). It is Blegen's shape A59, A60 at Troy, where it is decorated with incised wavy lines on the upper body<sup>83</sup>. The vase from Passia (fig 4.1) is from one of the south Rhodian workshops<sup>84</sup>. The vessel from Kalymnos (fig 4.2) has the east Aegean parallel wavy lines. There is another example with wavy lines from Astypalaia<sup>85</sup>. Parallel wavy lines (fig 5) are now a popular motif on Kos, Astypalaia and Kalymnos and at Miletos and Troy. The Koan examples consist only of sherds, but the spouted krater sherd (fig 5.1) is very close to (fig 5.2) from a LH IIIA2 tomb at Ialysos<sup>86</sup>. The Rhodian vessel may be a Koan export, since this decoration is not usual on Rhodes. Parallel wavy lines are a much later feature on the Greek Mainland, particularly being found in LH IIIC Late<sup>87</sup>. This use of wavy lines in the east Aegean may have developed from the Late Bronze I-II LOD and DOL vases (fig 3.3) probably manufactured at the Seraglio on Kos<sup>88</sup> and exported to Rhodes, Kalymnos, Miletos and Iasos amongst other sites. Wavy lines are a popular motif on these LOD and DOL vases. Nor is this use of wavy lines restricted to the south Aegean. They appear on LH IIIA2 Mycenaean vases at Troy (fig 5.3). The use of wavy lines on Trojan Mycenaean pottery is probably the result of influence which spread up the Interface, but it is also possible that it developed independently and illustrates the transference of incised wavy lines from the Grey and Tan Wares. A Trojan feature which may be reflected down the Interface is the painting of a ring round the handle of

<sup>76</sup> S. Charitonides, *AD 17A* (1961-62), 32-76, O. Zachariadou, *AD 33A* (1978), 249-95, E. Melas, *The Islands of Karpathos, Saros and Kasos in the Neolithic and Bronze Age SIMA 68*, Gothenburg, 1985, *passim*.

<sup>77</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *PoDIA* 1 (1995), 21-35.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 fig 8.

<sup>79</sup> C. Blegen et al, *Troy III*, fig 294.

<sup>80</sup> C. Doumas, *AD 30B* (1975), pl 272b top two vases.

<sup>81</sup> *Boysal*, pl 32.5.

<sup>82</sup> H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin, 1902, 158 no 3230.

<sup>83</sup> C. Blegen et al, *Troy III*, fig 292a.

<sup>84</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *PoDIA* 1 (1995), 21-35.

<sup>85</sup> G. Konstantinopoulos, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6 (1973), 124 fig 1.

<sup>86</sup> *Rodi*, 235 T.4.8 2935. There is one LH IIIA1 vessel T.4.7.

<sup>87</sup> For example *MDP*, fig 253, 254.10.

<sup>88</sup> M. Marthari, T. Marketou and R. E. Jones, 'LB I ceramic connections between Thera and Kos', in D. Hardy et al, (eds) *Thera and the Aegean World III.1*, London, 1990, 171-84.



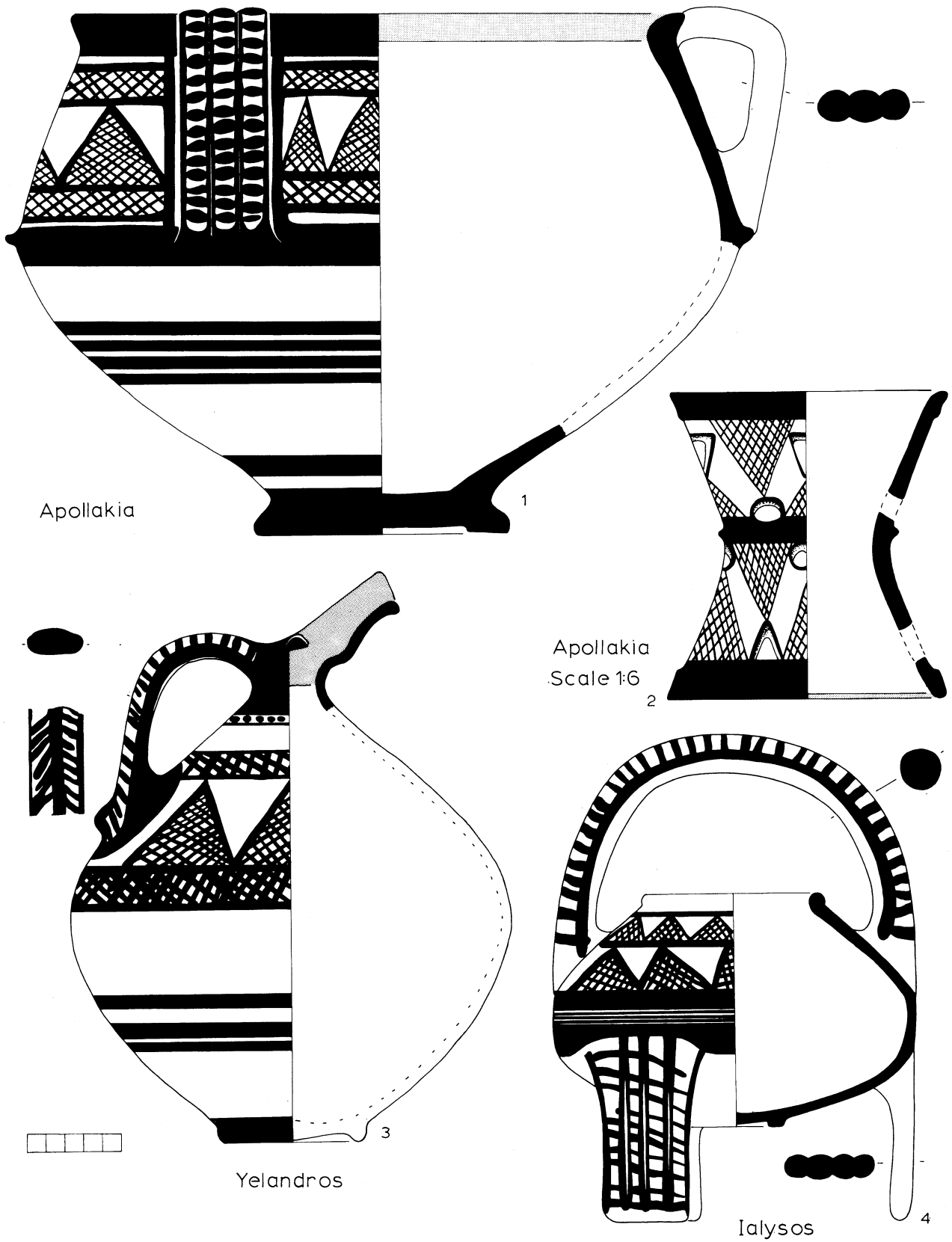
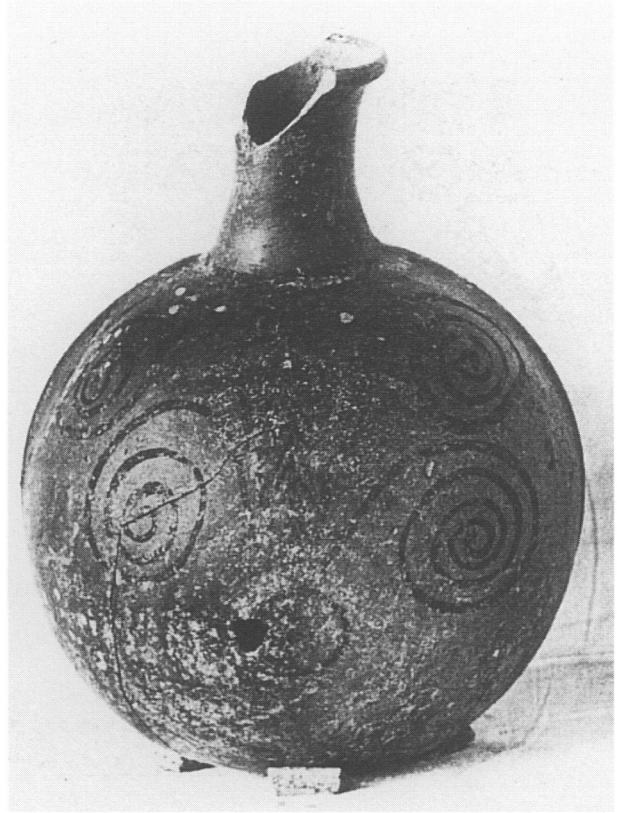


Fig 2. The LH IIIA2 South Rhodian Style



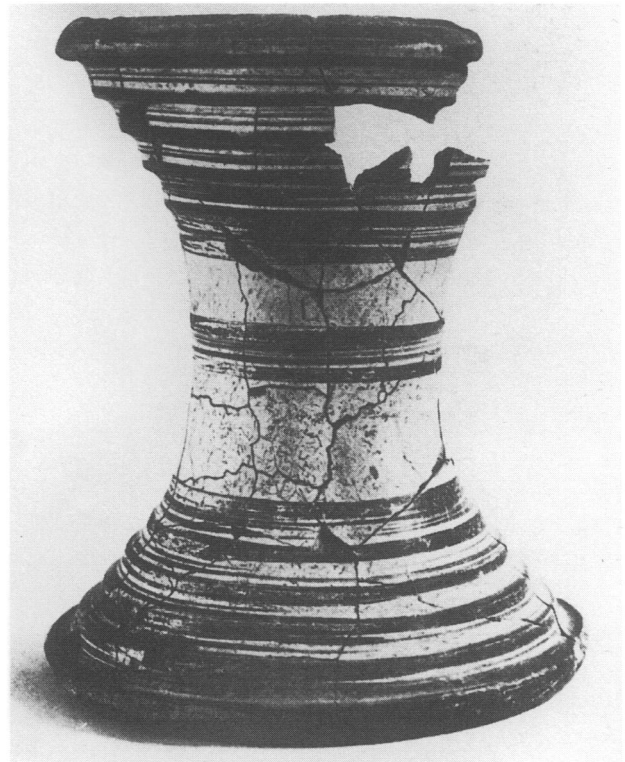
*Fig. 3.1. Kos, Seraglio: flask*



*Fig. 3.2. Troy: flask*



*Fig. 3.3. Kos, Seraglio: LOD beaked jug*



*Fig. 3.4. Miletos: stand*



*Fig. 3.5. Miletos: based mug*



*Fig. 3.6. Kos, Langada: octopus style stirrup jar*



*Fig. 3.7. Rhodes, Ialysos: octopus style stirrup jar*



*Fig. 3.8. Rhodes, Ialysos: strainer jugs*

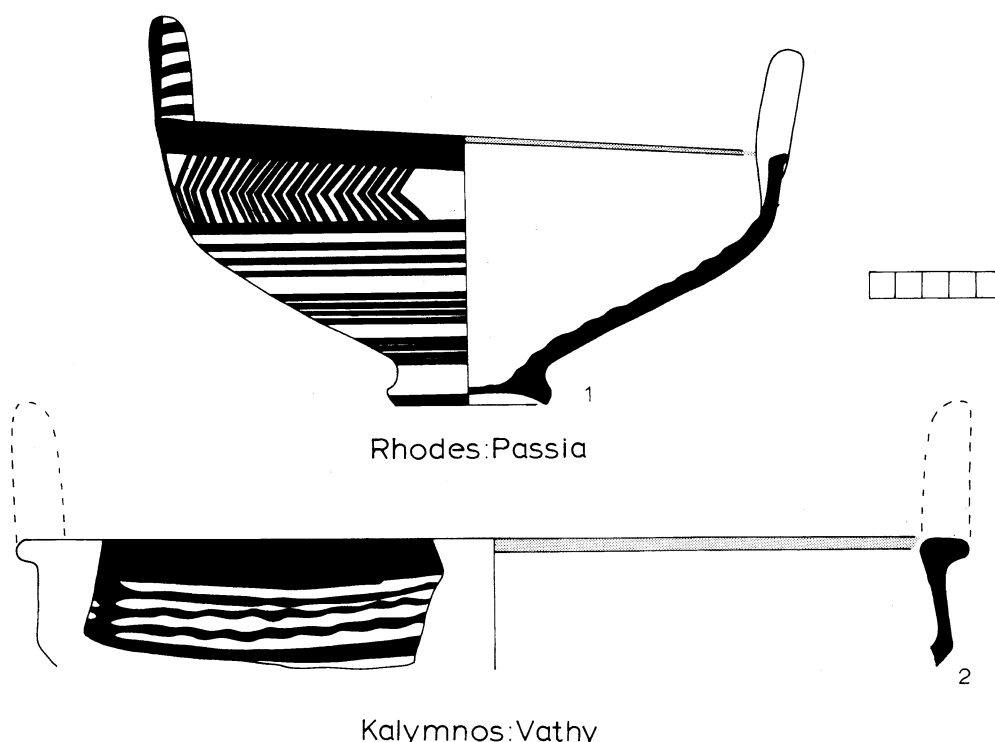


Fig 4. LH IIIA2: carinated bowl

LH IIIA2 kylikes (fig 6.2). It is a continuation of the LH IIIA1 goblet handle decoration (fig 6.1). The normal LH IIIA2 kylix has no decoration round the handle<sup>89</sup>, which is monochrome with two short tails at the base<sup>90</sup>. At Troy the handles of kylikes with a ring round are unusually wide and may have two long tails below them, as (fig 6.2). A kylix with a similar wide handle comes from Menemen<sup>91</sup>, but lacks the handle ring and long tails. The ring on the Astypalaian kylix (fig 6.3) is reduced to semi-circles. More evidence is needed from the south Aegean to know how frequent this feature was there.

In LH IIIB a number of kylikes from Kos, Rhodes, Miletos and Iasos depict octopuses so similar that it has been suggested that they are the product of a single workshop, perhaps situated on Kos<sup>92</sup>. The east Aegean amphoroid krater, so characteristic of this area in LH IIIC, appears in late LH IIIB or perhaps Transitional LH IIIB2-LH IIIC Early; there are examples from Rhodes<sup>93</sup> and Iasos<sup>94</sup>. The large ovoid piriform jar FS 37, another

typical shape (fig 10.1), appears in LH IIIB. Other characteristic LH IIIC east Aegean shapes, such as based mugs (fig 17) and based kalathoi (fig 18) and tall mugs (fig 16), are also beginning to circulate, the tall mug, indeed, from LH IIIA2 (fig 16.2-3). Most of the LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB pottery from Eleona-Langada on Kos and from Ialysos on Rhodes is conventional Mycenaean in Mainland terms. Clay analysis of 16 LH IIIA2 and 17 LH IIIB vases from Ialysos by OES suggests much Argive import<sup>95</sup>. This may be the case, but recent work with the much more precise NAA has highlighted the difficulties of separating the Mycenaean-Berbat profile from that of other Mycenaean centres<sup>96</sup>.

To sum up the information offered by the LH IIIA-IIIB pottery (fig 1). In LH IIIA2 the northeast Aegean from Troy down to Chios (and probably further south to Samos, but there is not enough evidence) seems to have assemblages largely made up of Anatolian wares together with some Mycenaean ware, whereas the southeast Aegean from Miletos down to Rhodes has assemblages with a much higher proportion of Mycenaean ware; indeed, in the tombs at Ialysos and

<sup>89</sup> MDP, figs 106-07.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, fig 107.12.

<sup>91</sup> Y. Ersoy, *BSA* 83 (1988), 72 fig 6.14.

<sup>92</sup> E. Papazoglou, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 14 (1981), 71.

<sup>93</sup> Rodi, pl 150f, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 130.

<sup>94</sup> C. Özgünel, *Belleten* 47 (1983), pls 26-27a.

<sup>95</sup> R. E. Jones and C. Mee, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 5 (1978), 461-70.

<sup>96</sup> Work in progress by H. Mommsen/J. Maran.

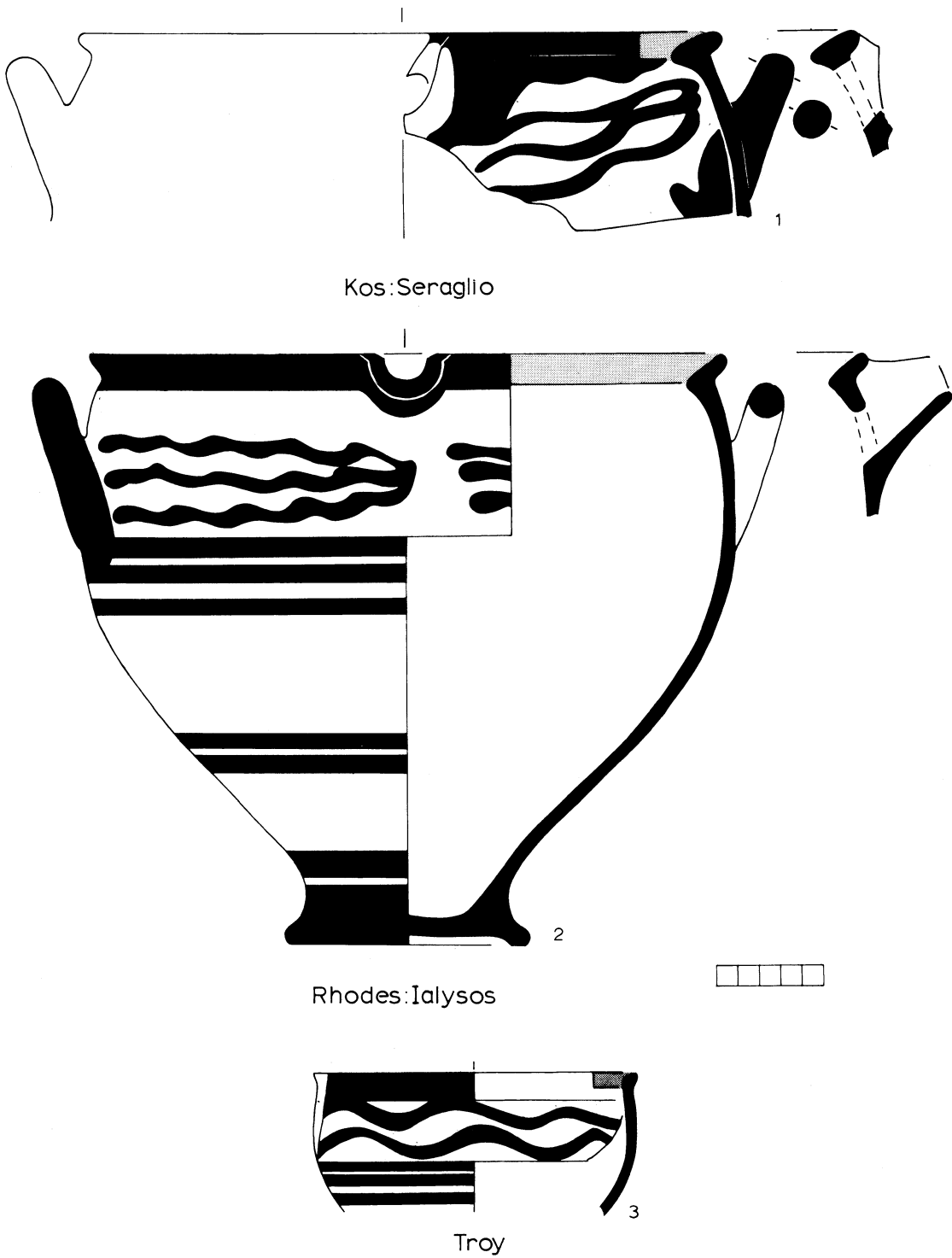


Fig 5. LH IIIA2: parallel wavy lines

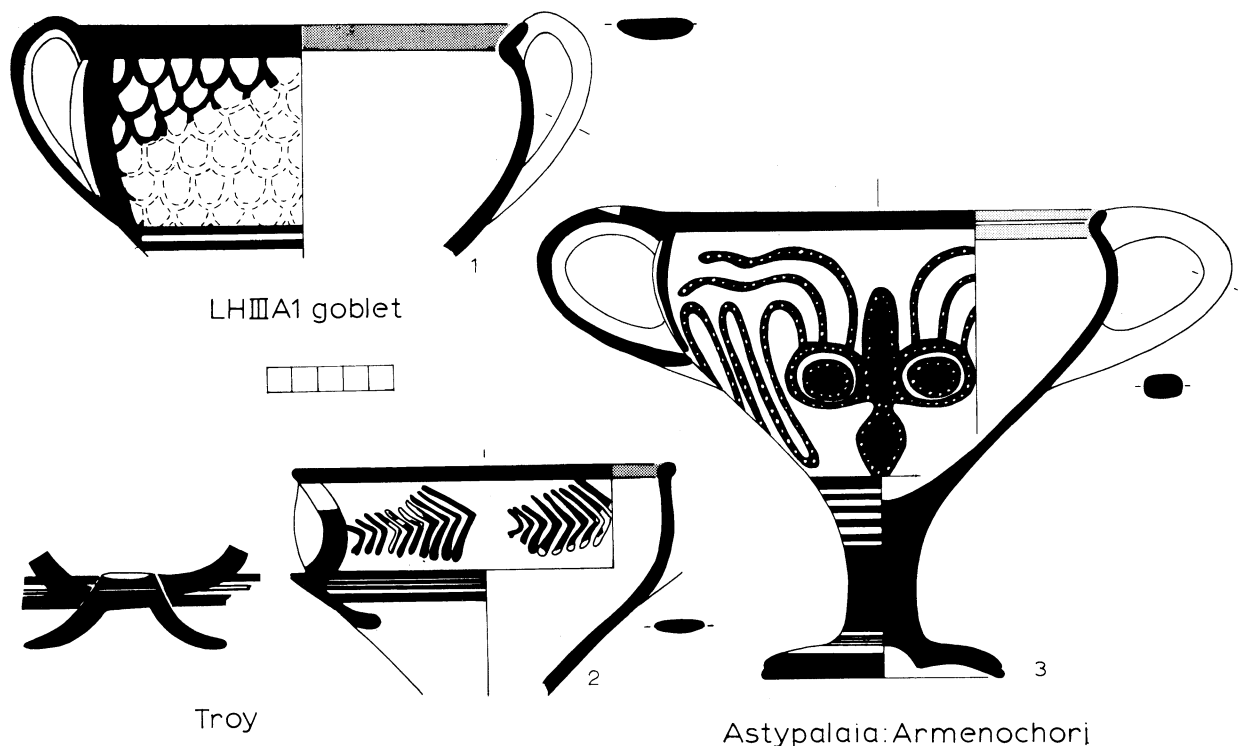


Fig 6. LH IIIA2: kylix with handle ring

Eleona-Langada it predominates. It would be enlightening to know if it also predominated in the settlements at Trianda and Seraglio. In both areas the Mycenaean pottery seems to be locally produced, but in the north (Troy) the emphasis is on open shapes, which were the fine table ware of an assemblage, whereas in the south both open and closed shapes are produced. This dichotomy probably arose because the south was more receptive of Mycenaean acculturation, since it had already absorbed much Minoan influence. There is Anatolian influence on the shapes of the Mycenaean ware throughout the Interface from Troy down to Rhodes in LH IIIA2 giving rise to a local east Aegean style.

In LH IIIB things seem to change. The east Aegean style with its Anatolian influence disappears. In the north Troy was recovering from the earthquake that destroyed it late in LH IIIA2. The production of Grey Ware and lustrous painted Mycenaean ware is replaced by that of Tan Ware and matt painted Mycenaean ware (Ginger Ware). Both wares continued in LH IIIC, but with much less Mycenaean ware than before. In the south Miletos was recovering from a burnt destruction in late LH IIIA2. The production of Mycenaean pottery continued here and in the Lower Interface with shapes

and decorative syntax appearing which then became part of the LH IIIC Early and Middle East Aegean Koine.

How does this scenario fit in with the Hittite Empire and the location of the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa, often equated to the Mycenaeans? The Greek Mainland, Thrace and Rhodes have all been put forward as its homeland<sup>97</sup>. It is generally recognised that the Hittite empire proper lay in central Anatolia, while the most powerful single kingdom in the west was that of Arzawa until it was defeated by Mursili II in LH IIIA2 and dissolved.

<sup>97</sup> See W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 20-21 fig 3 for a comprehensive list of publications.

TABLE I

MYCENAEAN		TROY	HITTITE (after Gurney 1991)
LH I			
1500-----			
LH IIA		VIId	
1460-----			
LH IIB		VIe	
		VIIf	
1400-----			
LH IIIA1	Proto-palaces	VIg	1390 Tudhaliya I/II
1375-----			
	P		1370 Arnuwanda I
	A		1355 Tudhaliya III
LH IIIA2	L	VIh	1344 Suppiluliuma I
	A		1322 Arnuwanda II
	T		1321 Mursili II
	I		(1318 Raid on Millawanda)
	A	Destruction	
1300-----	L		
	C		1295 Muwatalli II
	E		(1275 Battle of Qadesh)
LH IIIB1	N	VIIa	1271 Urhi-Teshub
	T		1264 Hattusili III
1230-----	R ---	E	1239 Tudhaliya IV
LH IIIB2	E	A	
	S	S	
		T	
1210-----		A	
Transitional LH IIIB2-IIIC Early		E	1209 Arnuwanda III
		G	1205 Suppiluliuma II
1200----		?VIIb1	E
1190-----		A	
		N	(Rameses III Year 8 Sea Peoples defeated)
LH IIIC Early		VIIb1	
		K	
1130-----		?VIIb1-	O
		I	
LH IIIC Middle		VIIb2	N
1100----			E
1070-----			
		VIIb2	
LH IIIC Late		?	
1050/30-----			
Submycenaean		?	
1020/1000-----			

ALL DATES ARE APPROXIMATE

### Chronology Table I

The probable deletion of Tudhaliya I and Hattusili II from the Hittite king list means that the time span c.1420-1370 proposed by O Gurney<sup>98</sup> has been lowered on table I to c.1390. In Mycenaean terms this means that the LH IIB phase no longer applies to Tudhaliya I/II. The Mycenaeanising sword recently found at Hattusa referring to the Assuwa campaign of Tudhaliya I/II and the campaign itself should now be dated to LH IIIA1<sup>99</sup>.

The date of the destruction of Hattusa and the end of the Hittite empire are not precisely determinable. The defeat of the Sea Peoples in Year 8 of Rameses III is now dated to c.1176<sup>100</sup>. The fall of Ugarit is put 15 to 20 years before this by Singer<sup>101</sup> at c.1196/91 because of the difficulty of extending historical documentation in Ugarit and Hattusa much beyond 1200 BC, since it would imply very long reigns for Suppiluliuma II and Ammurapi of Ugarit, which seems improbable. However, a tablet found in the burnt destruction of Ugarit contains a letter from the King of Ugarit to the ruler of Alasiya saying his troops are in Hatti and his fleet is off the Lukka Lands. This might suggest that Hattusa fell after Ugarit, not before it<sup>102</sup>.

The dating of Troy VI<sup>d</sup>-VIIb2 in Mycenaean terms is based on my restudy of the pottery excavated by Blegen which is stored in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul<sup>103</sup>.

### The Kingdom of Ahhiyawa

I list briefly the main mentions of Ahhiyawa in the Hittite texts. The earliest is the Madduwatta Text written in the reign of Arnuwanda I<sup>104</sup> concerning the activities of Attarissiya, a man of Ahhiyawa. Madduwatta lived under Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I<sup>105</sup>; this now indicates a LHIIIA1 or early LHIIIA2 date for Attarissiya, not LH IIB as was thought<sup>106</sup>. Points arising from the text are first, Attarissiya has a large number of chariots. It is unlikely chariots and horses were brought from Mainland Greece to Anatolia. This might suggest

Ahhiyawa, or at least Attarissiya, was based in west Anatolia where there were plenty available. Second, the raids made by Attarissiya on Alasiya (Cyprus) suggest he was based in south Anatolia, and probably the southwest, since the southeast, Kizzuwatna (modern Cilicia), was ruled by its own kings, probably until the time of Suppiluliuma I<sup>107</sup>. Third, after dealing with Attarissiya the Hittites went on to fight Talawa, probably Tlos in Lycia, suggesting again a southwest Anatolian scenario. If Ahhiyawa was in southwest Anatolia, it should be noted that, with the exception of the alluvial plains on and close to the coast, southwest Anatolia is mostly mountainous (fig 7) and not suitable for chariot warfare.

The next datable texts belong to the reign of Mursili II, LH IIIA2 in Mycenaean terms. The kingdoms of Arzawa and Ahhiyawa and the city of Millawanda, now identified as Miletos (see Hawkins this volume), seem to have combined against the Hittites. The city was raided by generals of Mursili in the third year of his reign. Miletos does indeed have a LH IIIA2 destruction<sup>108</sup>. It was subsequently surrounded by a fortification wall of Anatolian type<sup>109</sup>, presumably built by the local inhabitants, since there is no change in the architecture or pottery at Miletos, suggesting that, if a Hittite garrison was in control, it was not for long. It must be borne in mind that the Anatolian coast of the Interface was almost inaccessible from the interior; to reach Miletos it was necessary to follow a route afforded by the valley of the River Marsyas southwards from Alinda (Iyalanda) to Stratonicea, turn westwards over to Mylasa and then pass northwestwards to the city (fig 7)<sup>110</sup>. There was no direct route from the east, since Miletos lay on the opposite side of the Latmic Gulf from the Maeander delta (fig 8), the Milesian side of the Gulf being ringed by mountains. Later that year Mursili conquered Arzawa and entered its capital Apasa, equated to Ephesos, and the Arzawan king, Uhhaziti, and his two sons fled 'across the sea to the islands'. At that time Ephesos, like Troy and Miletos, was a coastal town (fig 8). It is possible that the islands mentioned were Samos and Ikaria. A later fragmentary passage of the Ten-Year Annals of Mursili II suggests that one of the sons of Uhhaziti fled to Ahhiyawa and was sent back by ship. If Ahhiyawa was in southwest Anatolia an alliance with Arzawa and Millawanda is geographically easily possible, as also the

<sup>98</sup> O. Gurney, *The Hittites*, 1991, table on 181.

<sup>99</sup> A. Ertekin and I. Ediz, in M. Mellink et al (eds) *Studies in Honour of Nimet Özgüç*, Ankara, 1993, 719-30.

<sup>100</sup> K. Kitchen, 'The basics of Egyptian chronology in relation to the Bronze Age', in P. Aström (ed) *High, Middle or Low? Part I*, Gothenburg, 1987, 37-55.

<sup>101</sup> I. Singer, *Hethitica* 8 (1987), 413-21.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> See P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 275-94 (Phases VI<sup>d</sup>-g) and *Ibid* 9 (1999), forthcoming. See also *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 42, 228-30.

<sup>104</sup> T. Bryce, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8 (1989), 298.

<sup>105</sup> H. Otten, *StBoT* 11 (1969), *passim*.

<sup>106</sup> H. Güterbock and M. Mellink, *AJA* 87 (1983), 134,139.

<sup>107</sup> I thank D. Hawkins for this information.

<sup>108</sup> W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 32-34.

<sup>109</sup> See C. Mee, *AnSt* 29 (1978), 135 for a summary of the discussion of this wall and W Schiering, *IstMitt* 29 (1979), 80-82 for the presence of a crosswall suggesting the fortification wall was built on the Anatolian casemate system.

<sup>110</sup> I thank D. French and D. Hawkins for this information.



quick sail along the coast from Arzawa to Ahhiyawa. If Ahhiyawa is in Thrace with Millawanda on the coast of Marmara, as proposed by Macqueen<sup>111</sup>, then the whole of the Troad lies between Ahhiyawa and Arzawa and between Millawanda and Ephesos, which might make the forging of an alliance between the two kingdoms and a campaign by Mursili involving Millawanda and Ephesos difficult.

The Annals of Mursili II describing the conquest of Arzawa in Year 3 of his reign give no information on the relationships between Arzawa, Millawanda and Ahhiyawa. The text has, therefore, been interpreted in several different ways, for example, that Arzawa incited Millawanda to rebel against Ahhiyawa and Mursili sent two generals to help Ahhiyawa or that Arzawa and Ahhiyawa caused Millawanda to rebel against Mursili, who then sent two generals to quell the rebellion<sup>112</sup>. The situation is summed up by Hooker, 'The damaged condition of the tablet precludes any certainty about the nature of the relationship between Millawanda, Hatti and Ahhiuwa'<sup>113</sup>. In fact there is nothing in the text to rule out Millawanda already being part of Ahhiyawa.

The Tawagalawa Letter dealing with the activities of Piyamaradu is dated to the reign of Hattusili III<sup>114</sup>, LH IIIB in Mycenaean terms. Tawagalawa is shown to be the brother of the King of Ahhiyawa, who is addressed as a Great King<sup>115</sup>. Piyamaradu, an Arzawan prince (see Hawkins this volume), is raiding the Lukka Lands and other territories. He may have been responsible for an attack on Attarimma (Telmessos) (fig 7). After this attack the Lukka asked first Tawagalawa and then the Hittite king for help. Hattusili went to Millawanda to take Piyamaradu and was attacked on the way at Iyalanda (Alinda), by Lahurzi, the brother of Piyamaradu. Piyamaradu escaped from Millawanda by boat, probably to Ahhiyawa<sup>116</sup>, and took with him his family and a large number of prisoners from the Hittite king's vassal lands. According to the Letter Piyamaradu left his household in Ahhiyawa and used Ahhiyawa as a base to raid the Hittite king's vassal lands. It is clear from the letter that Millawanda was under Ahhiyawan protection. Hawkins suggests (this volume) that Hattusili did not enter Millawanda, which belonged to Ahhiyawa, but stopped at its frontier. Hattusili subsequently wrote to Atpa, the local ruler of Millawanda and the son-in-law of

Piyamaradu, with a list of complaints Atpa should report to the King of Ahhiyawa. He proposed the charioteer Dabala-Tarhunda, who had ridden with Tawagalawa as well as with the Hittite king, go to Ahhiyawa as a hostage for the safe conduct of Piyamaradu. The fact that Piyamaradu is continually raiding Hittite lands and then escaping to Ahhiyawa suggests Ahhiyawa has to be close to the Anatolian Mainland, that is the offshore islands.

The text known as the Sins of the Seha River Land *KUB XXIII 13* dates to the reign of Tudhaliya IV (Hawkins this volume), later LH IIIB in Mycenaean terms. It describes the campaign of a Hittite king against this country<sup>117</sup>. The King of Ahhiyawa is mentioned in the context that Tarhunaradu of the Seha River land is relying on him<sup>118</sup>. Singer suggests<sup>119</sup> that Ahhiyawa has encouraged an anti-Hittite campaign and that the Seha River land bordered Ahhiyawa in the south, but Mira is not as unimportant as Singer supposes (see Hawkins this volume). The Hittite king suppressed the rebels and deported Tarhunaradu and a large number of prisoners and horses to Arinna.

Although it does not mention Ahhiyawa the Milawata Letter gives some evidence for Millawanda and west Anatolian history in the reign of Tudhaliya IV. The new join made by Hoffner in 1980<sup>120</sup> shows that Millawanda did not become a Hittite vassal at some point after the Tawagalawa Letter as was thought; rather it was the object of raids by the Hittite king and the addressee<sup>121</sup>. Indeed, Singer states that as far as can be seen from the Hittite texts the Hittites never ruled Millawanda. He suggests the addressee of the Milawata Letter is the King of the Seha River Land on the assumption that Mira is now in decline, but Hawkins has now put forward the idea (this volume) that the addressee was Tarkasnawa, King of Mira and that Mira, stretching from Afyon to Ephesos, was still very important for Hittite control in west Anatolia. The Milawata Letter is important for the Ahhiyawa question in that it gives rise to the supposition that Millawanda remained under Ahhiyawan control in the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

The last important reference to Ahhiyawa is in the Sausgamuwa treaty made by Tudhaliya IV with the King of Amurru (modern Lebanon), under which the king had to stop trade with Assyria via his country. According to

<sup>111</sup> J. G. Macqueen, *AnSt* 18 (1968), 168-85.

<sup>112</sup> See H. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983), 134-35 for a discussion of these two opposing views.

<sup>113</sup> J. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece*, London, 1976, 126.

<sup>114</sup> I. Singer, *AnSt* 33 (1983), 209-10.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 210 with reference to Güterbock.

<sup>116</sup> H. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983), 137.

<sup>117</sup> To reach the Seha River Land the Hittites would probably have had to pass through inland Mira (route Afyon-Banaz-Usak-Kula), suggesting that Mira was subservient or friendly at this time. I thank D. Hawkins for this suggestion.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 137-38.

<sup>119</sup> I. Singer, *AnSt* 33 (1983), 207.

<sup>120</sup> H. Hoffner, *AfO Beiheft* 19 (1982), 130-37.

<sup>121</sup> I. Singer, *AnSt* 33 (1983), 215.

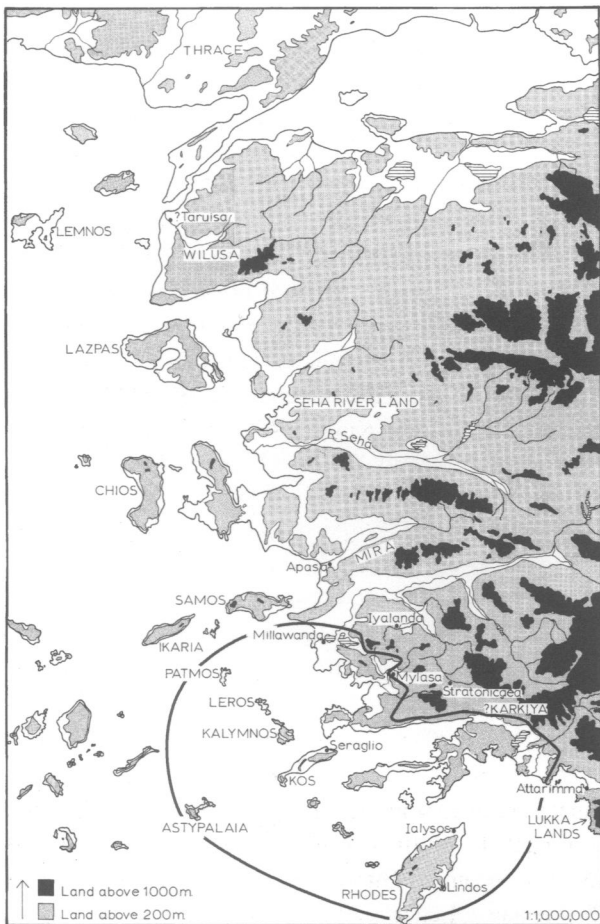


Fig 7. The Interface: the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa

one interpretation this included stopping Ahhiyawan ships unloading at his ports<sup>122</sup>. This is the text in which the Ahhiyawan king is named as a Great King, together with the kings of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria, and then deleted. Much is made of this deletion, but as important is the inference that Ahhiyawa is a coastal country with mercantile trade.

The texts suggest Ahhiyawa is a coastal kingdom possessing ships and that it was of some importance, at least in LH IIIB in the reigns of Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV, when its king was a Great King. A north Anatolian location in the Troad, with Troy as its capital, and over the straits of Marmara in Thrace has been suggested<sup>123</sup>, but recent field research by Mehmet Özdoğan indicates that there was little interaction

<sup>122</sup> See G. Steiner, *Ugarit Forschung* 21 (1989), 393-411 for an alternative interpretation, namely that the text should read not 'a ship of the Land of Ahhiyawa' but 'a ship of expedition'.

<sup>123</sup> J. G. Macqueen, *AnSt* 18 (1968), 169-85, J. Mellaart, 'Troy VIIa in Anatolian perspective', in L. Foxhall and J. Davies (eds) *The Trojan War*, Liverpool, 1984, 63-82.

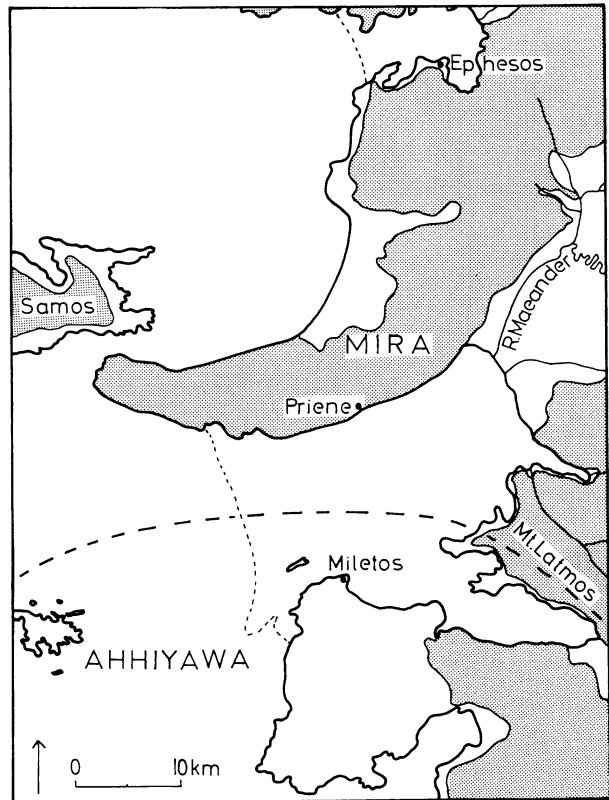


Fig 8. The Latmic Gulf in antiquity (modern coastline dotted)

between the Thracian and Anatolian cultural groups<sup>124</sup>. Troy has also been equated to Taruisa, but no positive identification is yet possible<sup>125</sup>.

Recent advances in our knowledge of Hittite geography now rule out a south or west Anatolian location for Ahhiyawa<sup>126</sup>. There are two options left. The first is on the Greek Mainland. However, there is no evidence that the Mycenaean Mainland was ever united under one Great King. It could be that the mentions of Ahhiyawa refer to different areas of Greece at different times<sup>127</sup>. Otherwise a single palatial centre must be chosen. Pylos in the west Peloponnese is the wrong side

<sup>124</sup> M. Özdoğan, 'The Second Millennium of the Marmara Region: What we know and what we don't know', presented at the congress *The Aegaeum and Europe during the Second Millenium BC. Athens 9-11 June 1995*.

<sup>125</sup> D. Hawkins, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1996 Yilligi*, Ankara, 1997, 17-19.

<sup>126</sup> See D. Hawkins, 'The end of the Bronze Age in Anatolia: new light from recent discoveries', in A. Cilingiroglu and D. French (eds) *Anatolian Iron Ages 3. The Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6-12 August 1990*, Ankara, 1994, 91-94 for an overview; see also I. Singer, *SMEA* 38 (1996), 63-71.

<sup>127</sup> E. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea* (BAR S591), Oxford, 1994, 69.

of Greece. Mycenae is an obvious choice, but Thebes, situated in the fertile Boeotian plain, was also a very important centre, as has been shown yet again by the contents of newly found Linear B tablets<sup>128</sup>. It would have had one or more harbours on the east coast. Iolkos, which new excavation has now suggested was Dimini with harbours at Volos and Pefkakia on the Gulf of Pagasae<sup>129</sup>, should not be disregarded. It must be borne in mind that, if a Mainland palatial centre was Ahhiyawa, it is geographically remote from Anatolia for people escaping to it and for fast communication. Also, the activities of Attarissiya in southwest Anatolia in LH IIIA1-III A2 early, the age of the proto-palaces and the beginnings of Mycenaean expansion, must be linked to it.

The second option is the Interface. C. Gates has recently suggested that the Aegean coastal zone, comprising all settlements with Mycenaean-type pottery and other artefacts, stretching from Menemen down to Müsgebi and including Chios, Samos and Rhodes, was Ahhiyawa<sup>130</sup>. However, although the pottery and burials suggest a homogeneous hybrid culture, this does not imply political unity. And indeed, there are difficulties attached to Gates' suggestion, as Menemen, Klazomenae and Ephesos were part of Arzawa until its defeat in LH IIIA2, after which Menemen was in the Seha River Land and the other two settlements in Mira (see Hawkins this volume). However, the Lower Interface might qualify as Ahhiyawa (fig 7). It is well located geographically for dealings with the west Anatolian states and the Hittites. Moreover, the Madduwatta text suggests a location in southwest Anatolia, if Attarissiya was not an independent freebooter. The land Karkiya may already have existed in inland historic Caria (Hawkins this volume), but the coastal communities were not necessarily part of it, since they are geographically isolated from the interior, as indeed are all the sites on the west Anatolian coast. Rhodes<sup>131</sup>, an important staging post on the way to the Near East, can be added, as also Anatolian coastal sites up to, and including, Miletos, together with

the other southern islands of the Interface, initially, in LH IIIA, up to Leros or Patmos, later, in LH IIIB after the fall of Arzawa, perhaps including Samos, Ikaria and possibly Chios, but not further north, since it is generally agreed Lesbos was the kingdom of Lazpas. Chios, too, may have had its own identity. The key point for this option is who ruled Miletos, now identified as Millawanda (Hawkins this volume). At that time, before the more recent silting up of the Maeander, it was on the Latmic Gulf (fig 8) and would have been a busy port and also a naval base, as Hawkins suggests (this volume). Together with Rhodes it could have provided the economic basis for a maritime trading kingdom, influential enough for its ruler to qualify as a Great King. Without Miletos the Lower Interface with only Rhodes as an emporium would probably not have been of sufficient stature for its ruler to be a Great King. Millawanda may already have belonged to Ahhiyawa during the time of Mursili II in LH IIIA2. Certainly in LH IIIB it is clear from the Tawagalawa Letter that it was under Ahhiyawan protection, but it does not seem to have been the main seat of Ahhiyawa, since Piyamaradu escaped from it by ship to Ahhiyawa and the Great King was not there in person.

The Great King of Ahhiyawa must have had a palace. Its commercial maritime activity and the external connections suggested by the grave goods at Ialysos suggest Rhodes as the most likely candidate for a palatial centre rather than the thriving settlement at the Seraglio on Kos with its fine double harbour. Recent work<sup>132</sup> has shown that Trianda was still occupied in LH IIIA2-IIIB and was not abandoned in LH IIIA1 as Furumark thought<sup>133</sup>. Benzi has pointed out that Trianda is situated on a narrow alluvial plain crossed by several streams and suggests that the LH IIIA2-IIIB settlement may have been washed away by flash floods<sup>134</sup>. Also, the chamber tombs at Ialysos are richer than those at Eleona-Langada, the cemetery of Seraglio. The lack of a good natural harbour at Trianda may have been remedied by the construction of a false harbour similar to that recently

<sup>128</sup> See C. Shelmerdine, *AJA* 101 (1997), 567 with references.

<sup>129</sup> A. Adrimi-Sismani, 'Mykenaïkos oikismos sto Dimeni', in *Conference on Ancient Thessaly in Memory of D. Theocharis*, Athens, 1992, 272-78, A. Evstathiou, 'Neoteres anaskaphikes erevnes sten evrytere perioche tes Magoulas 'Pevkakia'', in *Ibid*, 279-85.

<sup>130</sup> C. Gates, 'The Mycenaeans and their Anatolian frontier', in R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds) *Aegaeum 12 Politeia*, Liege, 1995, 289-98.

<sup>131</sup> Already suggested by others, especially D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley, 1959, 15 and *Ibid*, 15-18 with references, A. Furumark, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 6 (1965), 109.

<sup>132</sup> T. Marketou, 'New evidence on the topography and site history of prehistoric Ialysos', in S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds) *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen, 1988, 31-32; M. Benzi, 'Mycenaean pottery later than LH IIIA1 from the Italian excavations at Trianda on Rhodes', *Ibid*, 39-58.

<sup>133</sup> A. Furumark, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 (1950), 150.

<sup>134</sup> M. Benzi, 'Mycenaean pottery later than LH IIIA1 from the Italian excavations at Trianda on Rhodes', in S. Dietz and I. Papachristodoulou (eds) *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen, 1988, 53-54.

suggested for Pylos<sup>135</sup>, especially as false harbours seem to have been a feature of the Near East<sup>136</sup>, from whence the idea could have come to Rhodes. However, R. Hope Simpson has suggested to me that the palatial centre was at Seraglio on the grounds that a false harbour at Trianda would still have been very exposed and that Kos was the most fertile island of the Dodecanese and much closer to Miletos. It is true that Seraglio was a very big settlement<sup>137</sup> and for boats on the route to the Near East it was not much further north as a stopping place, but at the moment the grave goods negate the idea that this was the capital; the chamber tombs at Ialysos are wealthier than those at Eleona-Langada. Indeed Mee has suggested<sup>138</sup> that the Seraglio settlement was an arable one not much interested in trade. It is possible, however, that the cemetery belonging to the elite of Seraglio has yet to be found. Seraglio cannot be ignored as a possibility for a palatial centre, but at the moment, Trianda is the most likely candidate, although the acropolis at Lindos with its good harbours should not be forgotten. The Mycenaean remains are minimal, but Mee plausibly suggests that levelling for the construction of the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia destroyed earlier levels<sup>139</sup>.

I suggest that Ahhiyawa, if it was not located on the Greek Mainland, was a maritime kingdom stretching from Miletos down to Rhodes including coastal Anatolia and the offshore islands and that the Ahhiyawans were the local inhabitants who had undergone Mycenaean acculturation to varying degrees. There is no reason for them to have been Mycenaean colonists. Indeed, the Central Interface north of Miletos was also acculturised, but it was part of Mira and the Seha River Land. At some point Miletos, Rhodes and the Lower Interface must have been formed into this kingdom. I would suggest at least by the time of Attarissiya in LH IIIA2 early in the reign of Arnuwanda I, if not earlier in LH IIIA1 or LH IIB. Hawkins (this volume) has suggested that Madduwatta's territory was comparable to later Mira. If Millawanda/Miletos was already part of Ahhiyawa, then the encounters between Attarissiya and Madduwatta can be located in this area; Attarissiya would also have had easy access to chariots. Before this in MM III-LM I Trianda, Seraglio, Miletos, Iasos and Knidos exhibit much Minoan influence and seem to have been part of a

Minoan trading network, if not Minoan colonies; in LM II/LH IIB Minoan influence waned and Mycenaean acculturation slowly spread. By LH IIIA2 Rhodes, the possible palatial centre of the ruler of Ahhiyawa, had a large number of settlements, that belonging to the cemetery at Ialysos being quite wealthy, as the grave goods indicate. Miletos, at the other end of Ahhiyawa, seems to have been a thriving port geographically isolated from interior Anatolia. Indeed, although Mursili II raided it in LH IIIA2 late, he seems not to have been able to hold it, probably owing to difficulties of communication with the interior (Hawkins this volume). I suggest that in LH IIIA2 it was already part of Ahhiyawa, although this cannot be proven from the Hittite texts. By the reign of Hattusili III it is clear that Ahhiyawa did control Millawanda/Miletos and that its king was a Great King in contrast to the Kings of Mira and the Seha River Land who have vassal status. People escape by ship to Ahhiyawa, and from it conduct raids on Hittite vassal territory<sup>140</sup>, which also suggests it must be close by. That Tawagalawa, the brother of the Great King, was in Millawanda, but that Atpa governed it also indicates that the seat of government for Ahhiyawa was not in Miletos, but on one of the off-shore islands. The language spoken would presumably have been Luvian<sup>141</sup>. The pivotal points of Ahhiyawa were the harbour at Miletos and the control of the Marmara straits by Trianda/Ialysos, the route used by shipping to and from the Greek Mainland and the Near East, since a detour round Rhodes would have involved sailing through the heavy seas between Karpathos and Rhodes. Trianda/Ialysos may have acted as an emporium for this trade.

Although pottery is not a political indicator it may be that the changes in the pottery in LH IIB at Troy and Miletos noted above might reflect the dissolution of Arzawa by Mursili II and its break down into vassal kingdoms. It is possible that Ahhiyawa profited as a result of this, extending further north to include more off-shore islands and becoming more prosperous, and that one result was the East Aegean pottery Koine, which began in LH IIB and flourished in LH IIIC.

<sup>135</sup> E. Zangger et al, *Hesperia* 66 (1997), 613-23.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 622-23 with references.

<sup>137</sup> L. Morricone, *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 389, estimates c.60,000m<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> *Rhodes*, 87.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>140</sup> Translation O. Gurney in J. Garstang and O. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London, 1959, 111-14.

<sup>141</sup> Suggested by J. G. Macqueen at the London Mycenaean Seminar 14.1.98.

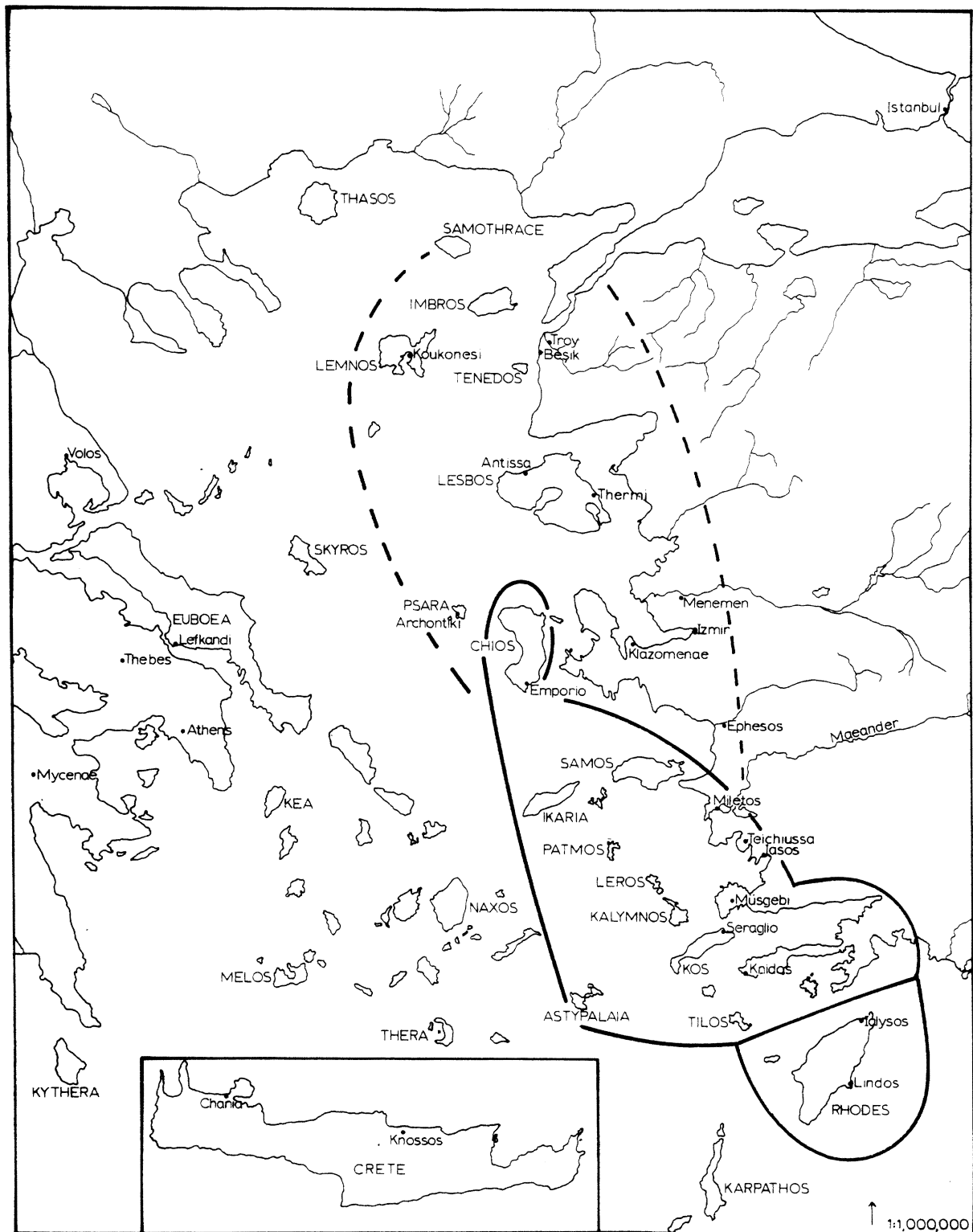


Fig 9. The Interface: LH IIIC. The East Aegean Koiné

### The Post-Hittite Interface LH IIIC Early-Middle (Fig 9)

The breakup of the Hittite Empire, the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial centres on the Greek Mainland and the general activities of the so-called Sea Peoples must have had repercussions on the Interface, but we have little information owing to the lack of excavated LH IIIC settlement sites. The stratigraphy at Seraglio is uncertain owing to the loss of the excavation notebooks in World War II<sup>142</sup>, that at Miletos is not good<sup>143</sup> and that at Troy<sup>144</sup> and Iasos<sup>145</sup> disturbed by later building. The destruction of Troy VIIa might have been the work of the Sea Peoples if it occurred in later LH IIIB, as seems likely<sup>146</sup>. There is no indication of a LH IIIB destruction at Miletos, but little has been uncovered so far of these levels. There is also an imbalance in the publication of tomb material. On the east Aegean islands tombs on Rhodes and Kos have been comprehensively published<sup>147</sup> and there are preliminary reports for Astypalaia<sup>148</sup>; the material from Pothia on Kalymnos, although published, has no stratigraphic provenance<sup>149</sup>. On the west Anatolian coast the only cemetery site with LH IIIC pottery published so far is Müsgebi<sup>150</sup>.

At Troy after the burnt destruction which ended Troy VIIa Blegen suggests immediate rebuilding. According to my restudy of the pottery stored in Istanbul Museum Troy VIIb1 should begin in late LH IIIB, extend through LH IIIC Early and perhaps continue into LH IIIC Middle. Handmade Burnished Ware appears at Troy in this phase, as also on the Greek Mainland, where it is found in LH IIIB-IIIC Early contexts<sup>151</sup>. Troy VIIb1 seems to have ended peacefully. In Troy VIIb2 Blegen suggests newcomers were responsible for the construction of new houses and the remodelling of old ones, as well as for the appearance of Knobbed Ware<sup>152</sup>. At the Eleona-Langada cemetery on Kos and at Ialysos on Rhodes there is an increase in the number of burials in LH IIIC and an increase in wealthy burials. Those at

Ialysos not only have gold and silver objects as well as bronze and glass<sup>153</sup>, but contacts with the east Mediterranean are shown by three scarabs and two haemetite cylinder seals, as well as some Cypriot objects. Rhodes was obviously still a staging post on the way from Mainland Greece to the Levant. Mycenaean figurines are now more common on Rhodes and Kos and the Anatolian rite of cremation is found in one Koan tomb and in eight tombs at Ialysos. However, although in LH IIIC Early and Middle Ialysos seems to have been prosperous, there was depopulation in the rest of the island. Benzi suggests the inhabitants went to Ialysos<sup>154</sup>, which would account for the increase in burials, but Mee puts this increase down to the arrival of refugees from the Greek Mainland<sup>155</sup>. At Müsgebi two graves certainly have LH IIIC pottery and two possibly (Ts.13,29 and Ts.35,42). At Değirmentepe and on Astypalaia (Armenochori) chamber tombs were in use in LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early. The development of the LH IIIB pottery into the LH IIIC Early Koine style suggests continuity of population at these sites and elsewhere in the Interface. At Emporio on Chios there is no evidence until LH IIIC Middle, but the sherds of this date are all survivals found in the LH IIIC Late levels<sup>156</sup>.

### The Pottery (Fig 9)

A study of the LH IIIC Early and Middle pottery from the Interface reveals a style that is so homogeneous that it seems an East Aegean Koine was flourishing in this area. The only exception to this picture is Rhodes. It has a completely different pottery style and must be regarded as a separate entity. This East Aegean Koine should not be confused with the Aegean Koine proposed by Desborough involving the Dodecanese, Miletos, Naxos and Perati<sup>157</sup>. He observed interconnections between these areas based mainly on the pottery, but also noted cremations associated with inhumations in chamber tombs and the presence of gold and semi-precious stones from the east Mediterranean. However, the ceramic connections are not as close as first appeared. The four main shapes of Desborough's koine are the flask, kalathos with interior decoration, strainer jug and octopus stirrup jar. The flask is found in the Cyclades and East Aegean, but is rare in Attica; kalathoi with elaborate interior decoration and knobs are found in the

<sup>142</sup> L. Morricone, *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 147-49.

<sup>143</sup> W.-D. Niemeier, *Dothan Festschrift*, 34.

<sup>144</sup> C. Blegen et al, *Troy IV*, 3-243.

<sup>145</sup> M. Benzi, *Bollettino d'Arte Supplement* to 31-32 (1985), 32.

<sup>146</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 42, 228-30, *Studia Troica* 9 (1999) in press.

<sup>147</sup> Rhodes: *Rhodes, Rodi*, S. Dietz, *Lindos IV.1*, Copenhagen, 1984; Kos: L. Morricone, *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 5-311, E. Papazoglou, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 14 (1981), 62-75.

<sup>148</sup> E. Zervoudaki, *AD* 26B (1971), 550-51, G. Konstantinopoulos, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6 (1973), 124.

<sup>149</sup> *BMC* 1.1, A1001-1024.

<sup>150</sup> *Boysal*, passim.

<sup>151</sup> See J. Rutter, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 3 (1990), 29-49 for an overview.

<sup>152</sup> C. Blegen et al, *Troy IV*, 143, 145.

<sup>153</sup> *Rodi*, 222-23.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*, 224-25.

<sup>155</sup> *Rhodes*, 90.

<sup>156</sup> See *RMDP* Chapter 11 Chios for the analysis of the pottery on which this conclusion is based.

<sup>157</sup> V. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, 228.

East Aegean only; strainer jugs are popular on Rhodes, but rare in the rest of the East Aegean and at Perati, while those on Naxos are a different shape; octopus stirrup jars are found throughout the koine, but each region has its own style. Desborough's Aegean Koine is based on general ceramic features rather than specific ones, as much of the material known today was unpublished when he wrote his study in 1964.

The East Aegean Koine has characteristic shapes and motifs. The Anatolian influence found on the earlier LH IIIA2 shapes has vanished. It will be seen that, although some of the distinctive shapes appear on Rhodes, the decoration does not. Some of these characteristic features are already found in LH IIIB. The large ovoid east Aegean piriform jar FS 37,38 appears (fig 10.1) and continues to be popular in LH IIIC Early<sup>158</sup>, although on the Mainland the piriform jar is not common after LH IIIB<sup>159</sup>. This shape does appear on Rhodes, but is rare there in contrast to its popularity in LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB. A particular LH IIIC Early group of large ovoid piriform jars is decorated with tricurved arch and stemmed spirals (fig 10.2-4). The handle ring on these jars, and on other LH IIIC piriform jars, now has its back to the handle and frames the decorative zone. The use of tails below the handle and the framing of the decorative zone are east Aegean features. Apart from one from Ialysos now in Florence<sup>160</sup> and the one in the Akave Collection possibly from Vati (fig 10.2), none of the jars in this group has a secure provenance, all being in foreign museums (fig 10.3-4)<sup>161</sup>. There is only the one example amongst the hundreds of vases from Ialysos; on the other hand there is an unpublished example from Astypalaia made of the local orange clay and very untidily decorated. Since these vases are all of buff or orange clay with a yellow or white slip, which is a feature of Kos-Kalymnos and Astypalaia but not of Rhodes, I would suggest the group originated from one of these islands and, since there are no examples amongst the abundant Koan material, that they perhaps came from Astypalaia and were exported from there.

The use of tails and the framing of the decorative zone appear especially on amphoroid kraters (figs 11-12.1). This is a popular vase in the East Aegean. The shape is completely different from the Mainland examples, but has close affinities with Minoan ones<sup>162</sup>. It

has a short, straight neck with a huge globular body sitting on a tiny pedestal base. The wavy line down the handle, the tails and the framed decorative zone are characteristic. The whorl-shells on the reverse side of the krater (fig 12.1 centre left), are no longer the standard LH IIIB type<sup>163</sup>, but have sketchily drawn heads and a wavy line in the tail instead of the usual dots. There are similar whorl-shells with uncanonical form from Miletos (figs 11, 17.6)<sup>164</sup>. They seem to be a feature of the East Aegean Koine. A LH IIIC Middle krater from Kos is illustrated (fig 13.9). These kraters are also found at Iasos<sup>165</sup>. Probably local production took place at each site, but some import cannot be ruled out. The kraters were supported on large cylindrical stands (figs 3.4, 12.2-3). This type of stand is not present on the Mainland, where the stand generally has three legs<sup>166</sup>. A Minoan origin has been suggested<sup>167</sup>, but an Anatolian origin cannot be ruled out.

The pictorial style (fig 13) is a feature of the east Aegean in LH IIIC Middle and probably in LH IIIC Early, but there are no contexts to provide dates. It is very common in the settlement material from Kos; it is also found at Miletos (fig 3.5), and on Kalymnos and Chios. The similarity of all these pieces might suggest export from one workshop, but it is equally likely that local production took place at each centre. This style is not found on Rhodes. There, pictorial motifs, such as fish and birds, are used as fillers on octopus stirrup jars or in isolation on other vases, but do not appear with the same richness of decoration as in the East Aegean Koine style<sup>168</sup>.

Heavy panelled decoration (fig 14) with elaborate fill, often of lozenge (fig 14.1-3, 5, 7), is found on Kos and Chios and at Miletos and Troy. In contrast to the vessels with heavy decoration is a group of vases which carries long multiple-stemmed spirals set against an open ground. They are found on Kos (fig 15.1) and at Miletos. Double-stemmed spirals with short stems are common on Kos (fig 15.2) and are also found at Miletos, Troy, Chios (fig 14.2) and Kalymnos (fig 15.3). The spiral may be linked to the stem by semi-circles or bars (fig 15.3).

<sup>163</sup> MDP, figs 134, 135.2.

<sup>164</sup> C. Weickert, *IstMitt* 7 (1957), pl 33-34.1.

<sup>165</sup> D. Levi, *Annuario* (1969-70), 484 fig 27 except sherd far right which belongs to a flask.

<sup>166</sup> A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm, 1941, 643 FS 336.1-3.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 70-71. FS 336.4, the Apollakia vessel, is dated by Furumark to LH IIIC; see P. A. Mountjoy, *PoDIA* 1 (1995), for the LH IIIA2 date. There is a good Minoan parallel from Moulana A. Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, London, 1906, fig 105B, but there are also Anatolian parallels (see fn 82).

<sup>168</sup> *Rodi*, pl 64. An octopus stirrup jar with wild life frieze, Ibid, T.80d, may be a Koan import (see below).

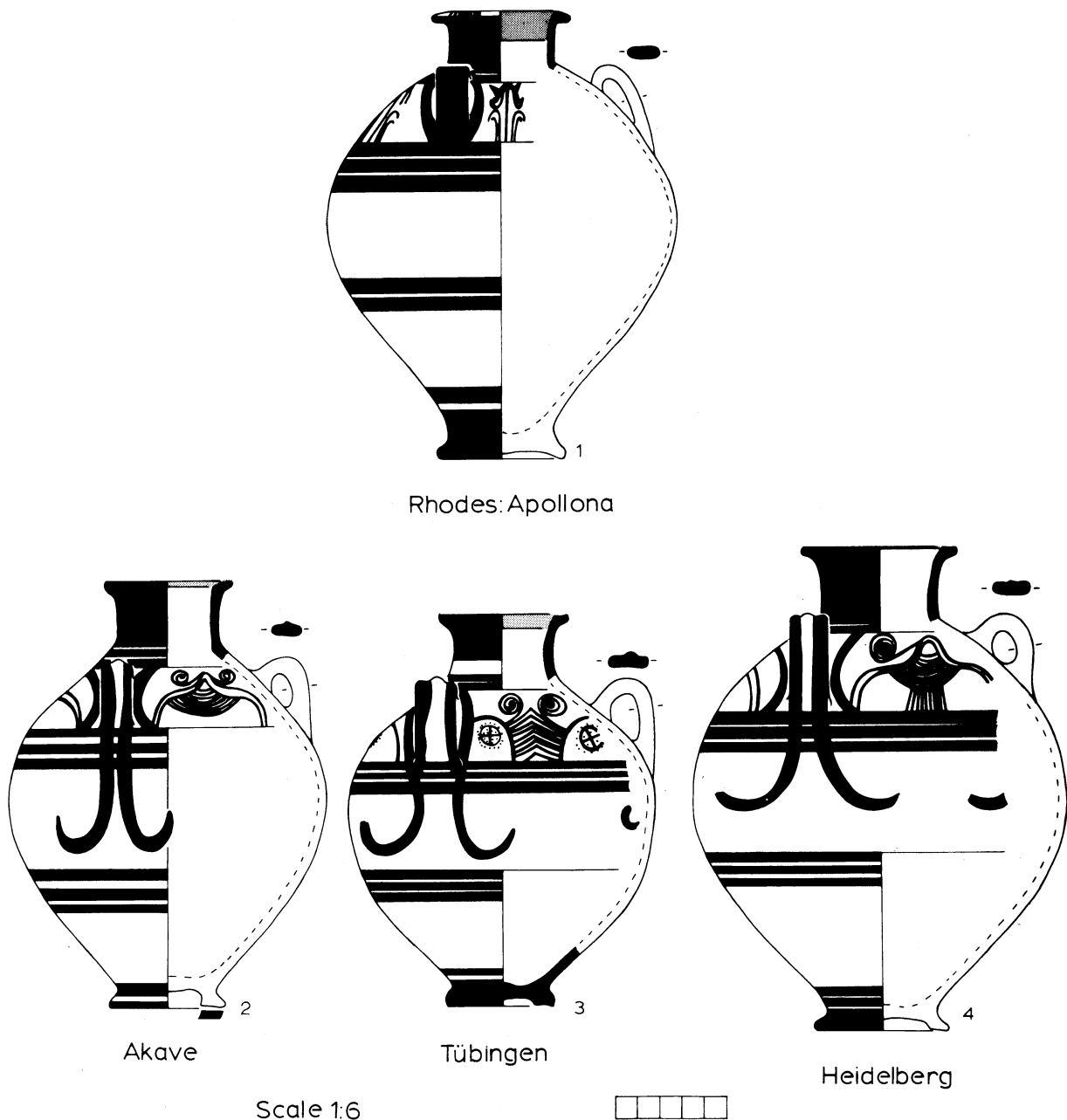
<sup>158</sup> For example Vati CVA Denmark 1 Copenhagen 1, pl 43.1, *Rodi*, pl 20g.

<sup>159</sup> MDP, 137, 160.

<sup>160</sup> CVA Italy 21 Pigorini 1, pl 2.2.

<sup>161</sup> J. Sieveking and R. Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München I*, Munich, 1912, no 29.

<sup>162</sup> For example P. Betancourt, *The History of Minoan Pottery*, Princeton, 1985, pl 30A.



*Fig 10. The East Aegean Koine: large ovoid piriform jar*

A tall narrow mug (fig 16.2-6), which appeared in LH IIIA2 (fig 16.2-3) alongside the usual wide mug (fig 16.1), continues. Mugs are quite common on Rhodes, but fig 16.4 from Lartos seems to be the only example of the tall narrow type. It might be imported from the Koine. The LH IIIC Middle mug from Tübingen (fig 16.6) has no provenance, but the long triple-stemmed spirals suggest the southeast Aegean and probably Kos. There are no tall mugs from the Greek Mainland. Several shapes in the east Aegean have a carinated lower

body and a ring base instead of the flat base they have on the Mainland. Based mugs are one such shape (fig 17). They seem to begin in LH IIIB (fig 17.1-3). These mugs are found all the way up the Interface, but do not seem to be present on Rhodes. There is also a LH IIIC Early example from Astypalaia (unpublished). The three-legged pictorial mug from Miletos (fig 3.5) is also of this type. The kalathos in the east Aegean is another shape which may have a carinated lower body and ring base in LH IIIB-IIIC Early (fig 18.1-2). In contrast to the based



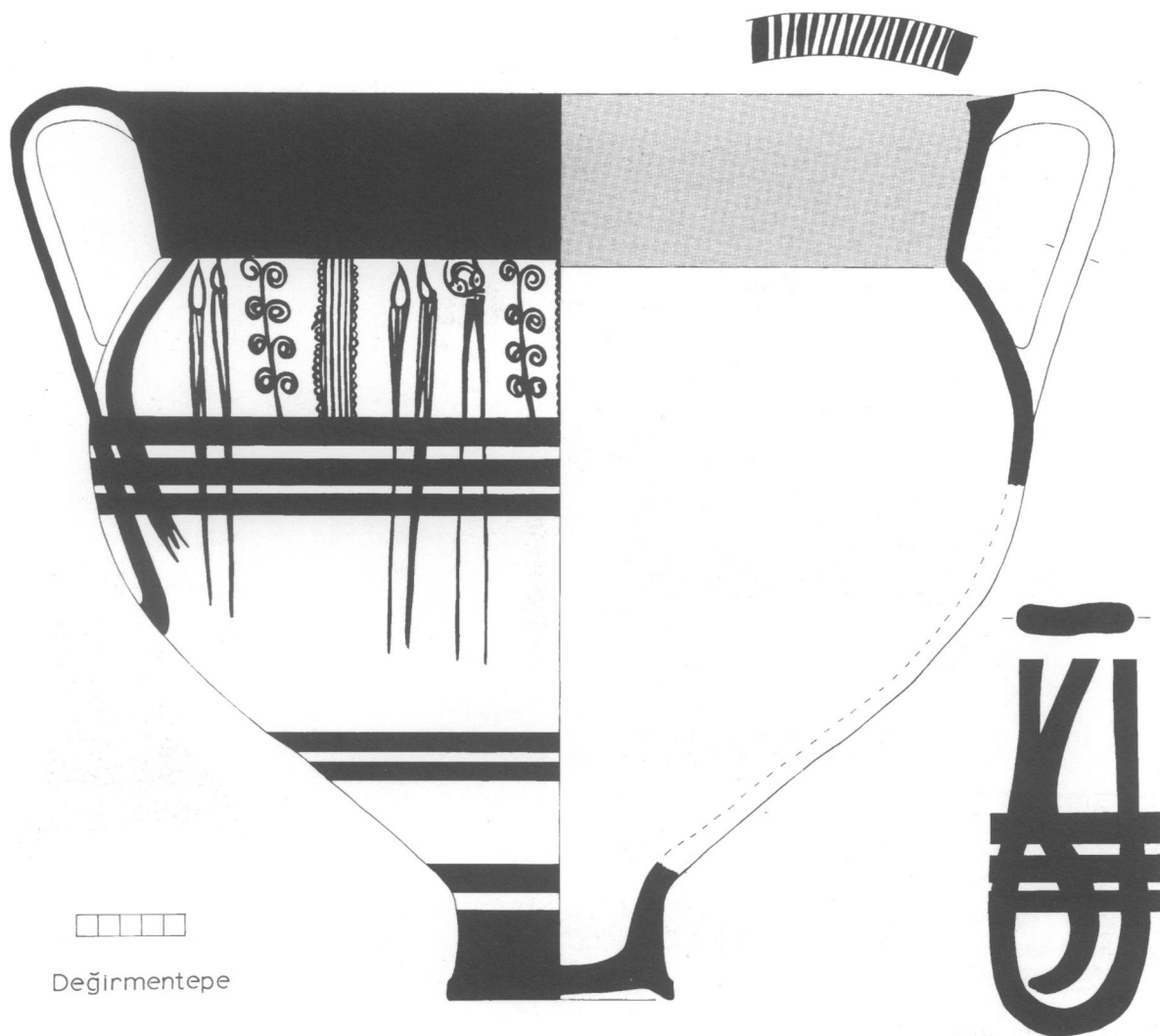


Fig 11. *The East Aegean Koine: amphoroid krater*

mug, this type is quite frequent on Rhodes<sup>169</sup>. The straight-sided alabastron may also have this feature (fig 18.3). These types are rare on the Mainland, if they appear at all<sup>170</sup>.

Wavy lines continue to be popular in LH IIIC Early and Middle in the East Aegean Koine (fig 19); examples come from Kos, Chios, Kalymnos, Miletos and Iasos. They may appear in a framed version (fig 19.1, 5-7, fig 15.3) and are popular on kalathoi. There may be three knobs on the interior of the kalathoi corresponding to the handle attachment (fig 15.3). These kalathoi with knobs, elaborate interior decoration and wavy line on the exterior are found in the East Aegean Koine only.

Kalathoi from Rhodes and the Cyclades may have wavy lines and those from the Mainland may have fish on the interior, but they do not have the knobs or the elaborate interior decoration of the East Aegean Koine vases<sup>171</sup>. Large and small baseless flasks (fig 20.1) with concentric circles and often a wavy line down the side are a development of the LH IIIA2 Anatolian flask. The ridge round the joint of the Anatolian type is now missing. They are an Aegean shape found in the Koine, but also in East Attica, the Cyclades and on Rhodes<sup>172</sup>. They are not very common.

<sup>169</sup> For example *Ibid*, pl 144b Lartos 36.

<sup>170</sup> There are examples of the based alabastron, for instance W. Rudolph, *Tiryns VI*, pl 17.4 left.

<sup>171</sup> For example *Rodi*, pl 59f; C. Kardara, *Aplomata Naxou, Kinita Evrimata Taphon A kai B*, Athens, 1977, pl 44; S. Immerwahr, *Agora XIII*, T.7.24 pl 40.

<sup>172</sup> For example S. Iakovides, *Perati, to Nekrotapheion*, Athens, 1969, 1970, pl 81.431; C. Kardara, *Aplomata Naxou, Kinita Evrimata Taphon A kai B*, Athens, 1977, pl 56.

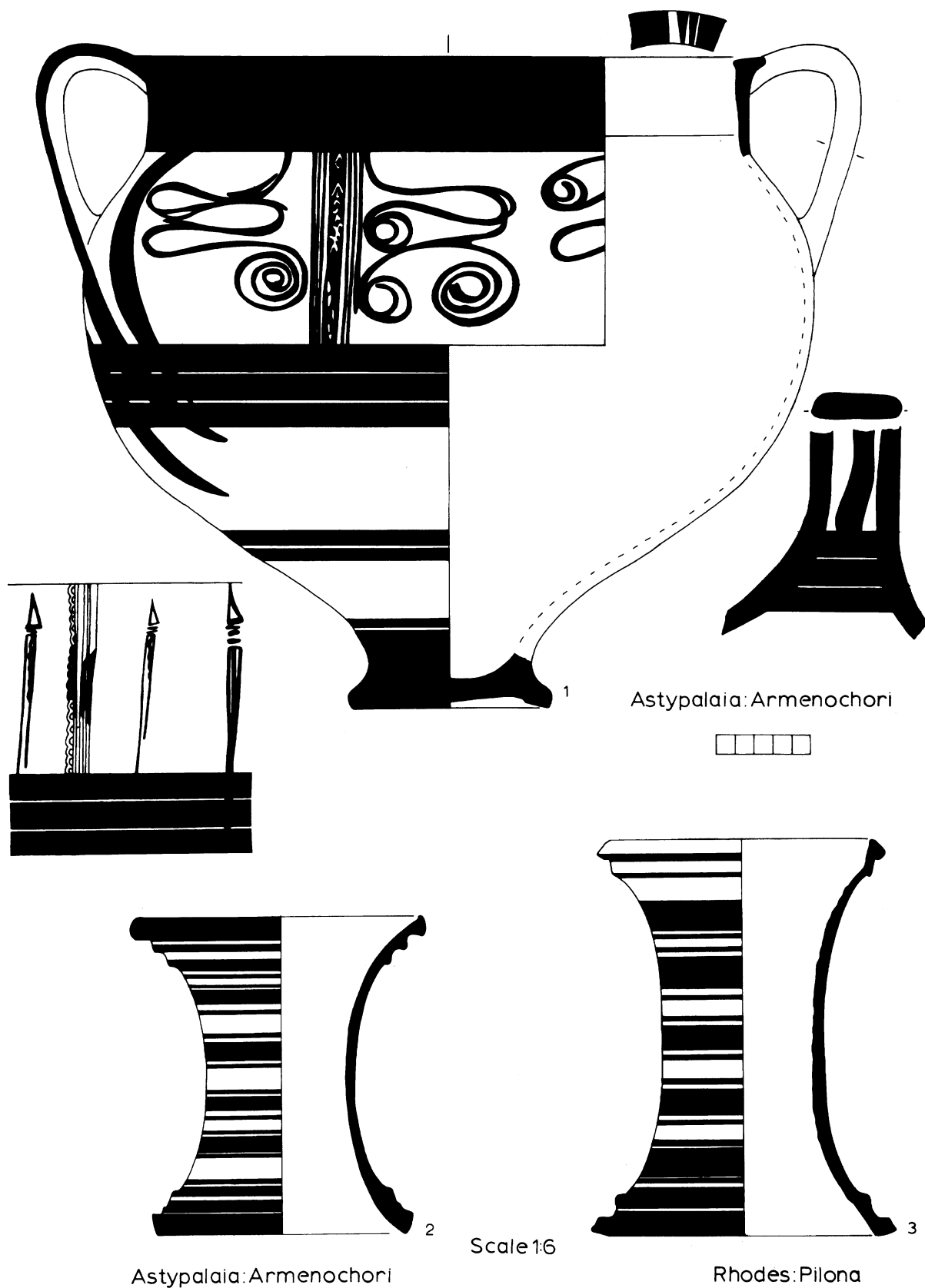


Fig 12. The East Aegean Koine: 1 amphoroid krater, 2-3 stand

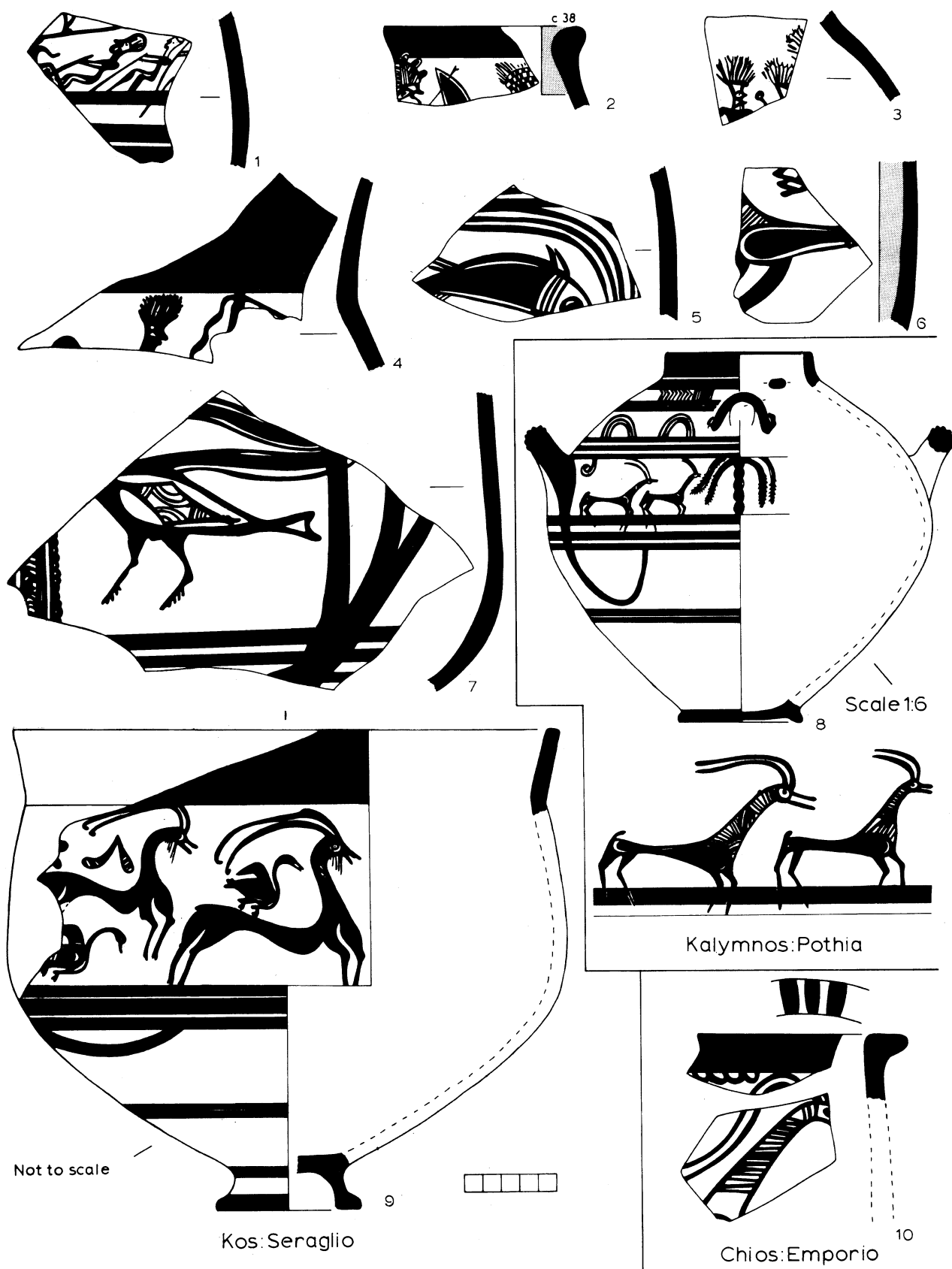


Fig 13. The East Aegean Koine: pictorial style

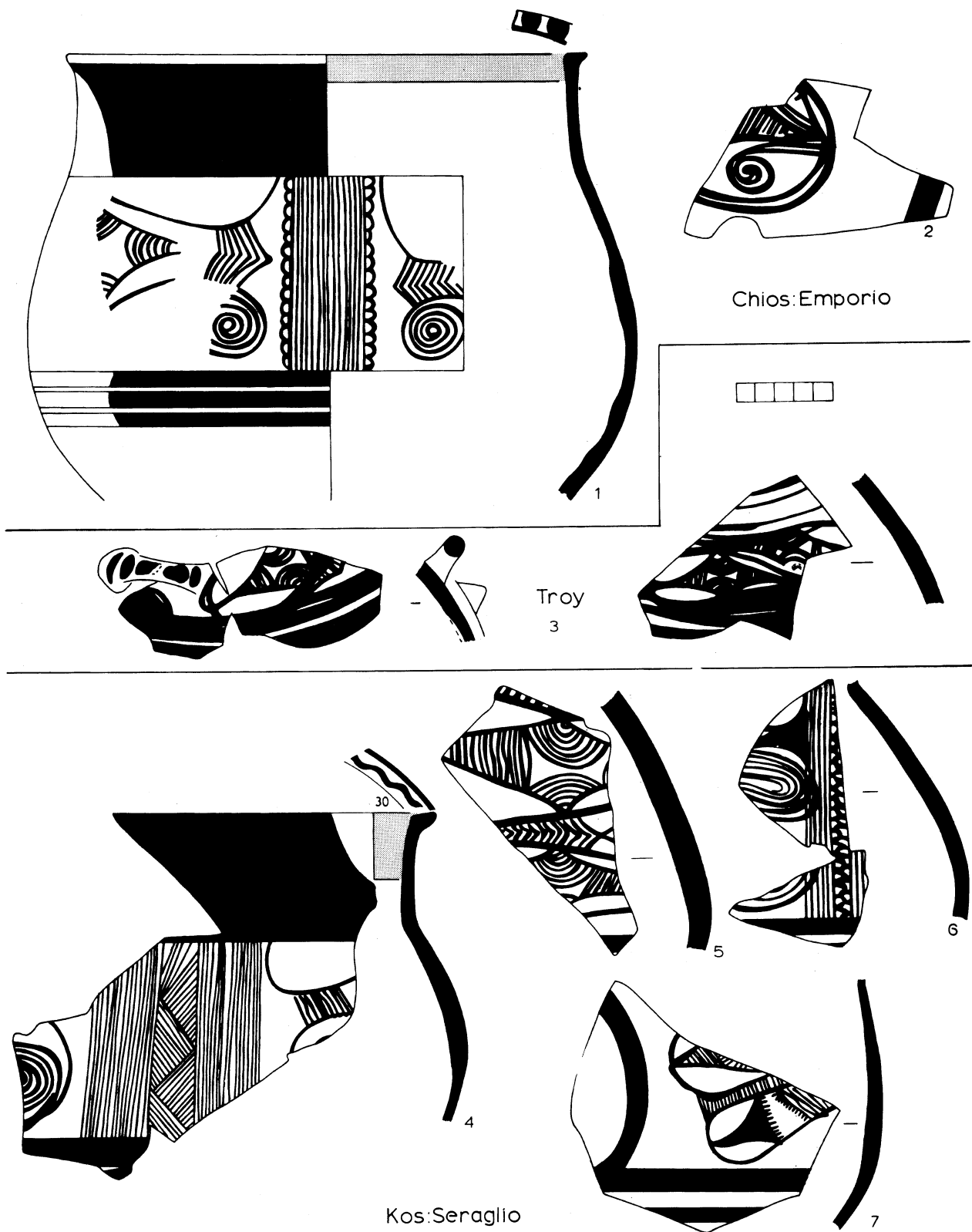


Fig 14. The East Aegean Koine: heavy panelled style

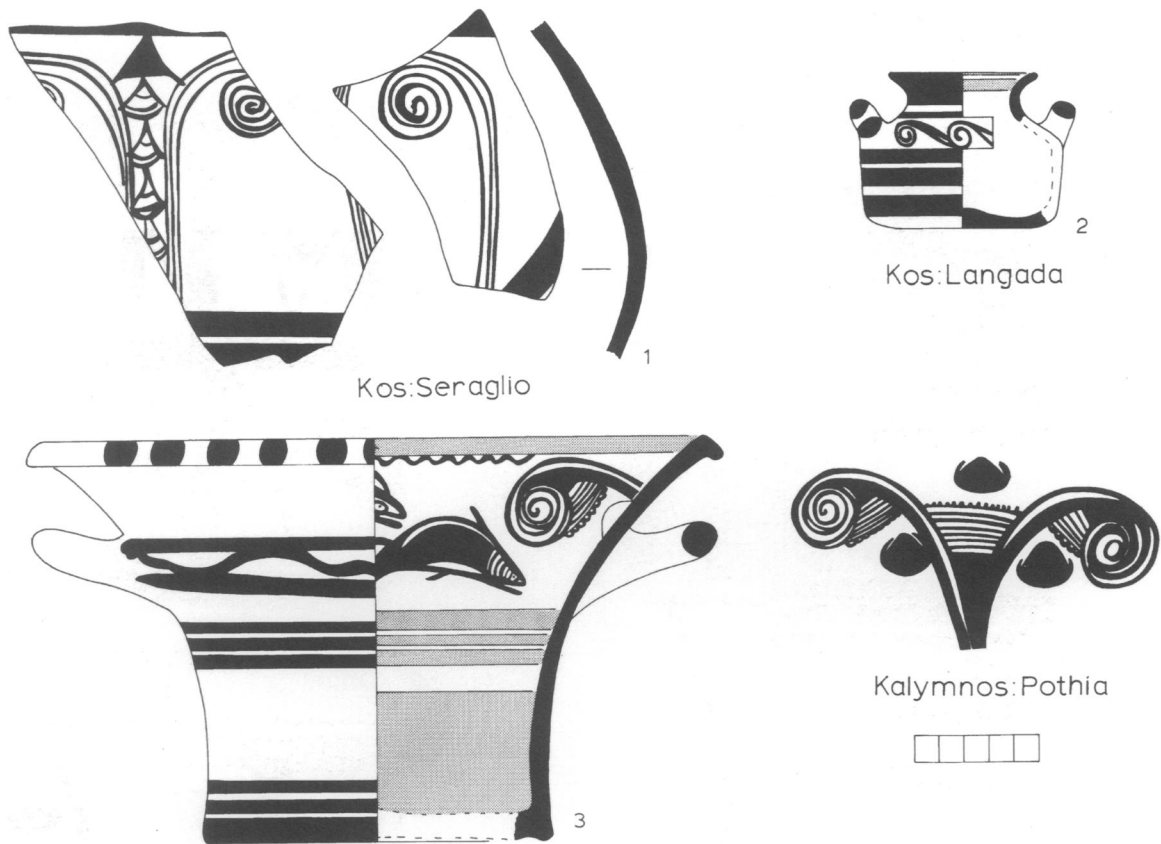


Fig 15. The East Aegean Koine: multiple-stemmed spirals

Octopus stirrup jars are not well represented in the East Aegean Koine, in contrast to Rhodes where they are numerous in the tombs at Ialysos. This may be due to accident of excavation rather than real rarity, but, on the other hand, one would have expected more examples from Kos where LH IIIC pottery is plentiful. Three of the seven vases on Kos are imports, two Attic and one Minoan<sup>173</sup>, but fig 3.6 should be local. Rhodian octopus stirrup jars are very different from those of the East Aegean Koine (fig 3.7). The octopus generally has drooping tentacles and there is not much filling ornament. In contrast the vase from Kalymnos (fig 20.2) has a frieze of pictorial decoration between the tentacles typical of the Koine. A similar vase from Ialysos<sup>174</sup> may be an import from the Koine. Another characteristic Rhodian shape, the strainer jug (fig 3.8), also seems to be rare in the East Aegean Koine. There are only three examples published from Kos and none from elsewhere.

To summarise the information offered by the LH IIIC pottery (fig 9). In the Lower Interface, the possible

Kingdom of Ahhiyawa, a pottery koine, the East Aegean Koine, blossoms. The Koine pottery had its own distinctive shapes and motifs, which are not found on the Greek Mainland. The Koine extended into the Central Interface, since it certainly stretched as far north as Chios, formerly part of the north Aegean ceramic area. In the Upper Interface there is too little LH IIIC pottery from Troy to know for certain if it was part of the Koine, but there was certainly contact, since some of the motifs are represented (fig 14.3). Troy also adapted the Koine style to its own Anatolian shapes, as demonstrated by a LH IIIC Anatolian krater decorated in the Pictorial Style with a bird and two animals, that on the left possibly the hindquarters of a lion<sup>175</sup>. However, after the Phase VIIa destruction there is much less Mycenaean pottery at Troy in comparison with the local Grey Wares. No LH IIIC pottery is published from the rest of the Upper Interface, apart from an octopus stirrup jar from the pit grave cemetery at Pitane<sup>176</sup>. The LH IIIC Koine pottery evolved from the east Aegean LH IIIB pottery which suggests continuity of inhabitants.

<sup>173</sup> Attic: L. Morricone, *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), Eleona T.1.2 32-33 figs 4-5.297, Eleona T.15.13 60 fig 32.363, Minoan: Ibid, Eleona T.7.5 43-44 figs 14-15.330.

<sup>174</sup> Rodi, T.80d pl 106f-i.

<sup>175</sup> P. A. Mountjoy, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), 269-74.

<sup>176</sup> G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité* VI, Paris, 1894, 923-31, C. Mee, *AnSt* 28 (1978), 143.



Fig 16. The East Aegean Koiné: tall narrow mug



Fig 17. The East Aegean Koine: based mug

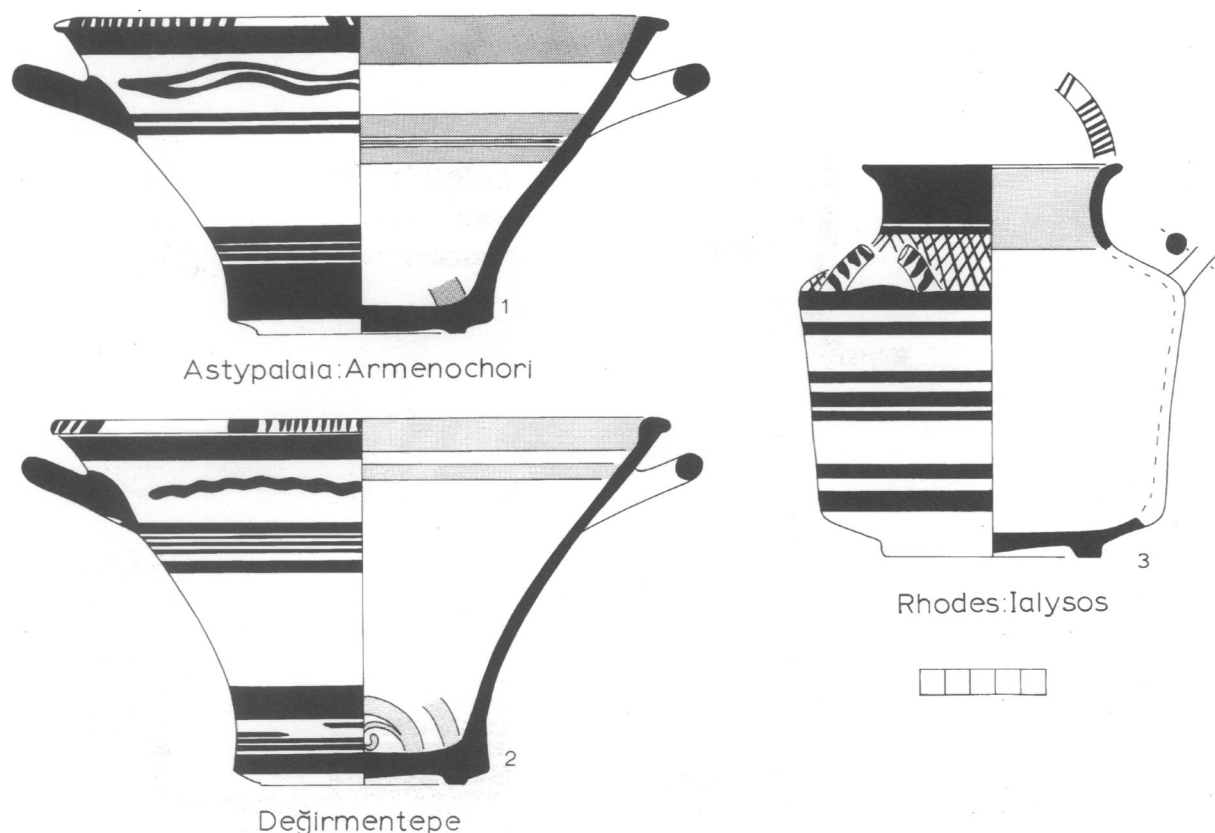


Fig 18. The East Aegean Koine: 1-2 based kalathos, 3 based alabastron

There is, however, a difference from LH IIIB in that Rhodes is not part of this koine. In LH IIIC Early Rhodes developed its own pottery style, which shows close contacts with Crete. This pottery style arises from Rhodian LH IIIB but is based on the decoration of imported Minoan octopus stirrup jars, the decorative elements of which were removed and regrouped to create a local style. The Rhodian style is quite separate from that of the East Aegean Koine, the initial Minoan influence being marked<sup>177</sup>. This, together with the increase of population at Ialysos and the decrease in the rest of the island, which has been noted above, suggests a hiccup in continuity. Indeed, Mee has pointed out that the complete clearance of chamber tombs at Ialysos and their re-use in LH IIIC suggests newcomers, in his view from the Greek Mainland<sup>178</sup>.

If the Lower Interface was Ahhiyawa the question arises as to whether the kingdom was still a unit in LH IIIC, with Minoan interests occupying Rhodes, or

whether it was fragmented, perhaps as a result of the activities of the Sea Peoples, with Rhodes acting as an independent entity. At the moment all that can be said is that the activities of the Sea Peoples do not seem to be directly reflected in the Interface, unless they were responsible for the Phase VIIa destruction at Troy, but more excavation of settlement sites is needed to clarify this point.

#### Acknowledgements

This study arises from a paper presented in tandem with a paper by David Hawkins (this volume) to a joint meeting of the London Mycenaean Seminar and the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara on 14 January 1998. I would like to thank Dr D. French for help on Anatolian questions and Professor D. Hawkins for guiding me through the maze of Hittite geography and through the varying interpretations of the Hittite texts.

<sup>177</sup> RMDP Chapter 11 Rhodes.

<sup>178</sup> Rhodes, 89-90.



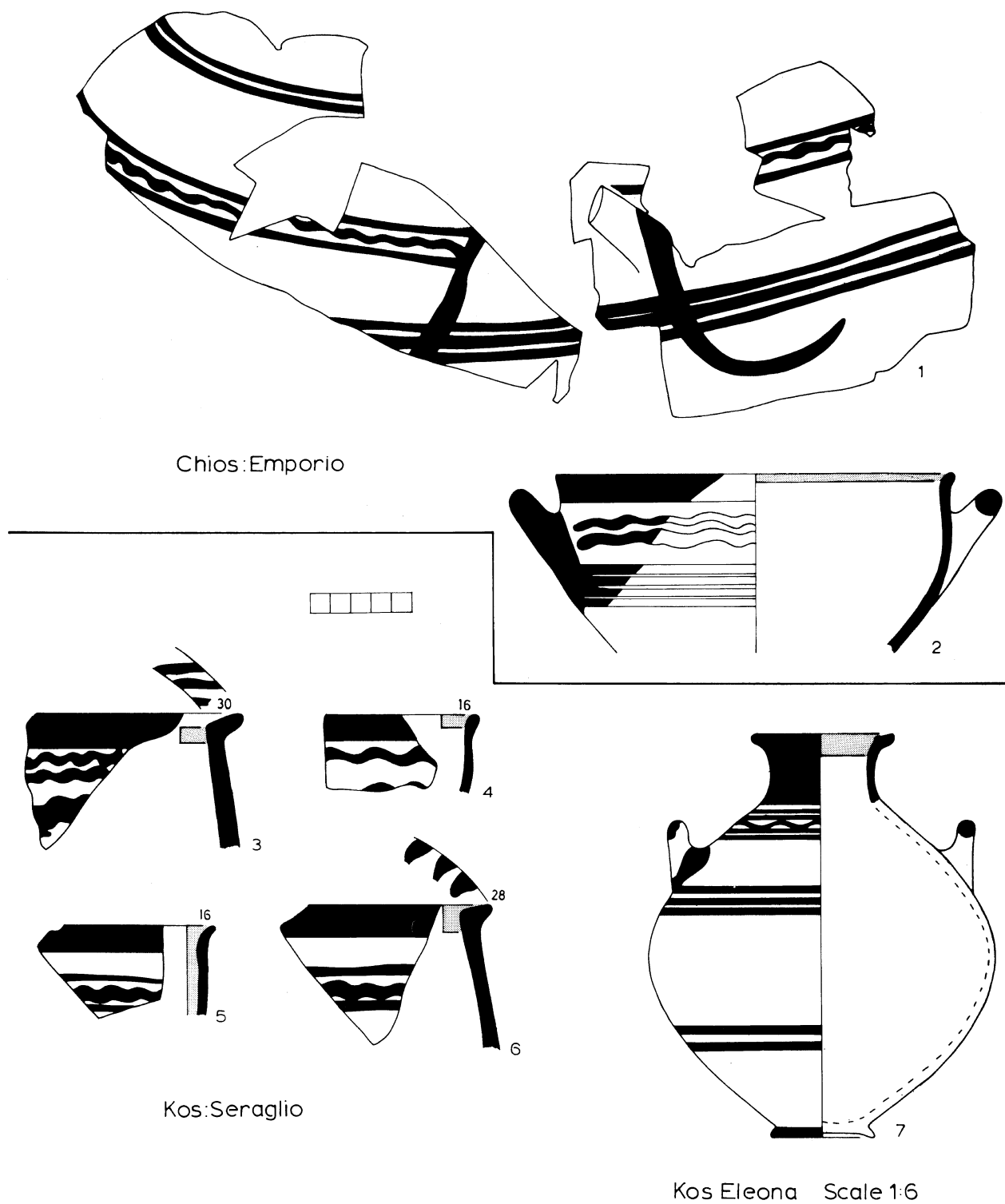


Fig 19. The East Aegean Koine: wavy line

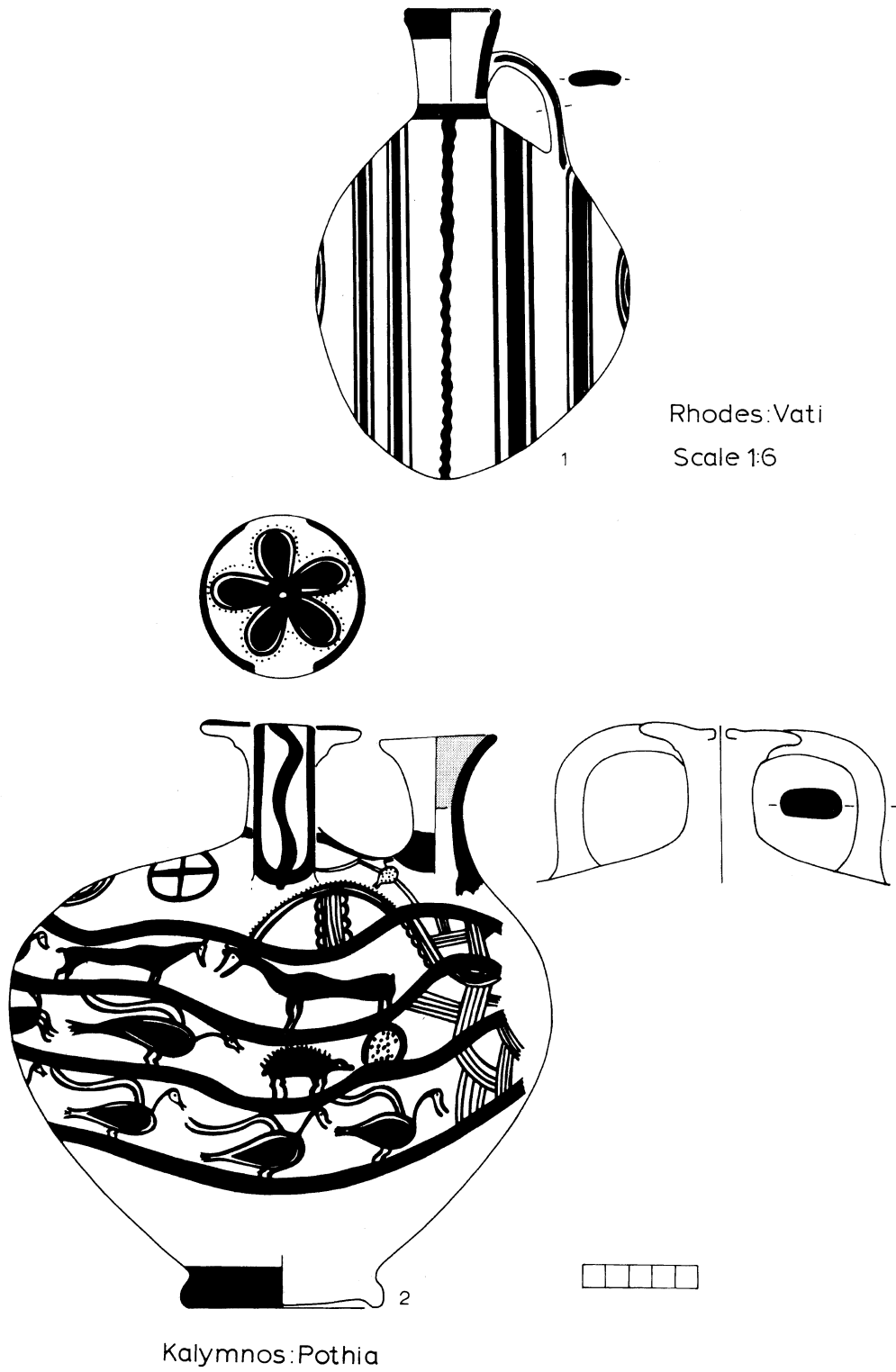


Fig 20. *The East Aegean Koine*: 1 flask, 2 octopus style stirrup jar

## Index of Vessels Illustrated

### Figure 2

- 1) Krater FS 287. Copenhagen Mus Inv 5599. Apollakia. *CVA Denmark 2 Copenhagen 2*, pl 62.4, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 70
- 2) Stand FS 336. Copenhagen Mus Inv 5600. Apollakia. *CVA Denmark 2 Copenhagen 2*, pl 62.3, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 75
- 3) Beaked jug FS 148. Ashmolean Mus Inv AE 1172. Yelandros.
- 4) Basket vase FS 319. Rhodes Mus Inv 12617. Ialysos T.62.1. *Rodi*, 365.

### Figure 3

- 1) Flask. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 295 figs 263-64
- 2) Flask. Troy. H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin, 1902, 167 no 3502
- 3) Beaked jug. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 176 fig 61 left
- 4) Stand. Miletos. *IstMitt* 9-10 (1959-60), pl 15
- 5) Mug. Miletos. *IstMitt* 9-10 (1959-60), pl 16
- 6) Stirrup jar FS 176. Langada T.39.6. *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 188-92 fig 196
- 7) Stirrup jar FS 176. Ialysos T.17.4. *Rodi*, pl 22c-d
- 8) Strainer jugs FS 155. Ialysos T.17.45,46,44. *Rodi*, pl 29a-f

### Figure 4

- 1) Carinated bowl FS 297. Passia. After S. Dietz, *Lindos* IV.1, figs 5,120
- 2) Carinated bowl FS 297. Vathy Cave. After M. Benzi, *Wace and Blegen*, 285 fig 5d, *RMDP*, Kalymnos no 1

### Figure 5

- 1) Spouted krater FS 298. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 381 fig 379b, *RMDP*, Kos no 40
- 2) Spouted krater FS 298. Rhodes Mus Inv 2935. Ialysos T.4.8. *Rodi*, pl 2b, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 71
- 3) Kylix FS 256. *Troy III*, fig 404.3

### Figure 6

- 1) Kylix FS 256. *Troy III*, fig 416.5
- 2) Goblet FS 255. Phylakopi. A. C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: the Sanctuary at Phylakopi BSA Supplementary Vol 18*, London, 1985, 160 fig 5.6.74
- 3) Kylix FS 256. Rhodes Mus Inv 8360. Armenochori. *AD* 26B (1971), pl 558c right, *RMDP*, Astypalaia no 1

### Figure 10

- 1) Piriform jar FS 37. Apollona. *Rodi*, pl 131c. *RMDP*, Rhodes no 76
- 2) Piriform jar FS 38. Rhodes Akave Collection. *Annuario* 57-58 (1979-80), 234 fig 19, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 126
- 3) Piriform jar FS 38. Tübingen Mus Inv S/27 5370. *CVA Deutschland 44 Tübingen 2*, pl 6.1-2, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 125
- 4) Piriform jar FS 38. Heidelberg Mus Inv M1. *CVA Deutschland 27 Heidelberg 3*, pl 95.5, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 127

### Figure 11

- 1) Amphoroid krater. Antikensammlung Berlin Mus Inv 31688.21. *Değirmentepe*

### Figure 12

- 1) Amphoroid krater. Rhodes Mus Inv 8356. Armenochori. *AD* 26B (1971), pl 558b right, *RMDP*, Astypalaia no 7
- 2) Stand. Rhodes Mus Inv 8358. Armenochori. *AD* 26B (1971), pl 558b left, *RMDP*, Astypalaia no 13
- 3) Stand. Pilona. After *Rodi*, pl 162a

### Figure 13

- 1) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 360 fig 358, *RMDP*, Kos no 104
- 2) Ring-based krater FS 282. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 360 fig 357a, *RMDP*, Kos no 170
- 3) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 360 fig 357b, *RMDP*, Kos no 103
- 4) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 359 fig 356, *RMDP*, Kos no 102
- 5) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 367 fig 365a, *RMDP*, Kos no 108
- 6) Ring-based krater FS 282. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 361 fig 359, *RMDP*, Kos no 173
- 7) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 364 fig 362, *RMDP*, Kos no 105
- 8) Collar-necked jar FS 63. British Museum Inv A1022. Pothia. *BMC* 1.1, pl 16, *RMDP*, Kalymnos no 14
- 9) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 188 fig 73, *RMDP*, Kos no 101
- 10) Ring-based krater FS 282. Emporio. After *Chios*, 591 fig 265.2745 and pl 119, *RMDP*, Chios no 8

### Figure 14

- 1) Amphoroid krater. Emporio. *Chios*, fig 265.2743, *RMDP*, Chios no 1
- 2) Amphoroid krater. Emporio. After *Chios*, pl 119.2972, *RMDP*, Chios no 2
- 3) Collar-necked jar FS 63. *Troy IV*, fig 279.14

- 4) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 359 fig 355a, *RMDP*, Kos no 112
- 5) Piriform jar FS 38. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 375 fig 375e, *RMDP*, Kos no 100
- 6) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 374, fig 374, *RMDP*, Kos no 117
- 7) Amphoroid krater. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 373 fig 373h, *RMDP*, Kos no 116

#### Figure 15

- 1) Piriform jar FS 38. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 357 fig 352b-c, *RMDP*, Kos no 99
- 2) Alabastron FS 96. Langada T.10.9. *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 104 fig 85, *RMDP*, Kos no 123
- 3) Kalathos FS 291. British Museum Inv A1016. Pothia. *BMC* 1.1, pl 15, *RMDP*, Kalymnos no 31

#### Figure 16

- 1) Mug FS 225. Langada Erratico. *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 283 fig 324, *RMDP*, Kos no 30
- 2) Mug. Pizzoli. After *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 239 fig 175
- 3) Mug. *Troy III*, fig 416.27,28
- 4) Mug. Rhodes Mus Inv 3383. Lartos. *Rodi*, pl 143a, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 228
- 5) Mug. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 229 fig 157, *RMDP*, Kos no 54
- 6) Mug. Tübingen Mus Inv S/10 1245. *CVA Deutschland 44 Tübingen* 2, pl 6.6, *RMDP*, Kos no 164

#### Figure 17

- 1) Based mug. *Troy*. H. Schmidt *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer*, Berlin, 1902, 198 no 4028
- 2) Based mug. *Troy IV*, fig 247.28
- 3) Based mug. Antikensammlung Berlin Mus Inv 31688.8. Değirmentepe
- 4) Based mug. Langada Erratico. *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 283 fig 324, *RMDP*, Kos no 87
- 5) Based mug. Miletos. After *IstMitt* 29 (1979), 102 fig 6
- 6) Based mug. Antikensammlung Berlin Mus Inv 31688.24. Değirmentepe. *Troja und Thrakien. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Berlin, 1982, fig 85

#### Figure 18

- 1) Based kalathos. Antikensammlung Berlin Mus Inv 31688.6. Değirmentepe. *Troja und Thrakien. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Berlin, 1982, fig 88
- 2) Based kalathos. Rhodes Mus Inv 8417. Armenochori. *AD* 26B (1971), pl 559 bottom left, *RMDP*, Astypalaia no 12
- 3) Based alabastron FS 97. Rhodes Mus.Inv.2746. Ialysos T.17.25. *Rodi*, pl.27g, *RMDP*, Rhodes no.169.

#### Figure 19

- 1) Hydria FS 128. Emporio. After *Chios*, pl 124.2837, *RMDP*, Chios no 3
- 2) Deep bowl FS 285. Emporio. *Chios*, fig 264.2731, *RMDP*, Chios no 11
- 3) Ring-based krater FS 282. Seraglio. *Annuario* 50-51 (1972-73), 379 fig 377f, *RMDP*, Kos no 176
- 4) Deep bowl FS 285. Seraglio. *RMDP*, Kos no 184
- 5) Deep bowl FS 285. Seraglio. *RMDP*, Kos no 183
- 6) Ring-based krater FS 282. Seraglio. *RMDP*, Kos no 175
- 7) Piriform jar FS 37/58. Eleona T.20.1. *Annuario* 43-44 (1965-66), 74 fig 46, *RMDP*, Kos no 63

#### Figure 20

- 1) Flask FS 186. Copenhagen Mus Inv 5771. Vati. *CVA Denmark 1 Copenhagen 1*, pl 48.1, *RMDP*, Rhodes no 278
- 2) Stirrup jar FS 176. British Museum Inv A1015. Pothia. *BMC* 1.1, pl 15, *RMDP*, Kalymnos no 19

#### Abbreviations

The following special abbreviations are used in the text:  
*BMC* 1.1 = *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum: Vol 1, Part 1: Prehistoric Aegean Pottery*, J. Forsdyke. London 1925

*Boysal* = *Katalog der Vasen im Museum in Bodrum: I. Mykenisch-Protogeometrisch*, Y. Boysal. Ankara 1969

*Chios* = *Prehistoric Emporio and Ayia Gala II BSA Supplementary Vol* 16, S. Hood. London 1982

*Dothan Festschrift* = *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, in Honor of Trude Dothan* eds S. Gitin, A. Mazar, E. Stern. Jerusalem 1998

*FS* = Furumark Shape. *Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification*, A. Furumark. Stockholm 1941

*MDP* = *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: a Guide to Identification SIMA* 73, P. A. Mountjoy. Gothenburg 1986

*PoDIA* = *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens*

*Rhodes* = *Rhodes in the Bronze Age*, C. B. Mee. Warminster 1982

*RMDP* = *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, P. A. Mountjoy. In press

*Rodi* = *Rodi e la Civiltà Micenea*, M. Benzi. Rome 1992